

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



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**Editor’s Note:** The President was in Kiev, Ukraine, on May 12, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

## WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

## PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

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Week Ending Friday, May 12, 1995

**The President's Radio Address**

*May 6, 1995*

Good morning. This morning I want to talk with you about the problem of illegal immigration. It's a problem our administration inherited, and it's a very serious one. It costs the taxpayers of the United States a lot of money, and it's unfair to Americans who are working every day to pay their own bills. It's also unfair to a lot of people who have waited in line for years and years in other countries to be legal immigrants.

Our Nation was built by immigrants. People from every region of the world have made lasting and important contributions to our society. We support legal immigration. In fact, we're doing what we can to speed up the process for people who do apply for citizenship when they're here legally. But we won't tolerate immigration by people whose first act is to break the law as they enter our country. We must continue to do everything we can to strengthen our borders, enforce our laws, and remove illegal aliens from our country.

As I said in my State of the Union Address, we are a nation of immigrants, but we're also a nation of laws. And it is wrong and ultimately self-defeating for a nation of immigrants to permit the kind of abuse of our immigration laws we have seen in recent years.

This week, I sent strong legislation to Congress to try to stop those abuses, to secure our borders in the future, and to speed up deportation of illegal immigrants.

Our immigration policy is focused in four areas: first, strengthening border control; second, protecting American jobs by enforcing laws against illegal immigrants at the workplace; third, deporting criminal and deportable aliens; fourth, giving assistance to States who need it and denying illegal aliens benefits for public services or welfare.

Let me talk a little bit about two or three of these issues. First of all, on strengthening border control: For 2 years, we've been working very, very hard to strengthen our borders. We've put the best American technology to work at our borders. We've added a lot of border patrol agents, 350 last year, 700 this year. We're going to add at least another 700 next year.

In El Paso, our border guards stand so close together they can actually see each other. They maintain a sealed border in what used to be the biggest route into America for illegal aliens. We're extending this coverage to other sectors of the borders. We'll increase border control by 51 percent this year over 1993 and by 60 percent along the southwest border. That's pretty good for just 3 years.

We're also helping States to remove illegal aliens who are criminals, and I want to talk more about that in a moment. But focus on this: Right now we're deporting 110 illegal aliens everyday. That's almost 40,000 a year. And we're going to do even better.

Now, let me talk a little bit about increasing deportations. Our plan will triple the number of criminal and other deportable aliens deported since 1993. We want to focus on the criminal population or on those who are charged with crimes but who are here illegally. Everyday illegal aliens show up in court who are charged. Some are guilty, and surely, some are innocent. Some go to jail, and some don't. But they're all illegal aliens, and whether they're innocent or guilty of the crime they're charged with in court, they're still here illegally and they should be sent out of the country.

If they're sentenced to jail, they should go to jail. But then after their term is over, they should be removed from the United States. And when there is a plea bargain, I want deportation to be part of the deal. We've been doing this now in southern California, and just in southern California, under this provi-

sion, we're going to send out 800 to 1,000 illegal immigrants this year. It simply doesn't make any sense for us to have illegal aliens in our custody, in our courts, and then let them go back to living here illegally. That's wrong, and we should stop it.

Now, in addition to strengthening the border patrol, deporting more aliens who are part of our court system, and really cracking down on inspection at the work site in America, we have to face the fact that we've got another big problem, and that is the backlog. There is actually a backlog in the deportation of illegal aliens of over 100,000. That's 100,000 people we have identified who are still awaiting the completion of their deportation hearings. I have instructed the Justice Department to get rid of this backlog. If it takes extra judges, we'll ask Congress for the money to get them. We cannot justify continuing to have this large number of illegal aliens in our country simply because our court system won't process them.

We also have hundreds of thousands of people who have been ordered to leave our country, who then disappear back into the population. I have instructed the Justice Department, and particularly the Immigration and Naturalization Service, to come up with a plan in which we can cooperate with the States to identify these people and move them out as well.

Our country was built by immigrants, but it was built also by people who obeyed the law. We must be able to control our borders, we must uphold respect for our laws. We're cracking down on this huge problem we found when I got here, and we're going to keep working at it until we do much, much better.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:06 a.m. from the Map Room at the White House.

### **Remarks to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee Policy Conference**

*May 7, 1995*

Thank you. If I had really good judgment I would stop now while I'm ahead. [*Laugh-*

*ter*] You're not supposed to clap for that. [*Laughter*]

Thank you, Steve, for that wonderful introduction and for your leadership. Mr. Prime Minister, Ambassador Rabinovich, the Israeli Minister of Health, Larry Weinberg and Lester Pollack and Neal Sher and members of our administration who are here, Mr. Lake and Ambassador Indyk, Secretary Glickman. I can't help pointing out that we have been a country now for a very long time, and the Jewish people have a special relationship with the soil. Dan Glickman is the first Jewish-American Secretary of Agriculture in the history of the Republic. I'm also delighted to see one of the best friends Israel has in the United States, Senator Frank Lautenberg, out there in the audience. It's good to see you, Senator.

I'm delighted to be here tonight among so many familiar faces and to have Steve remind me of that remarkable occasion I had to meet with this group in 1989. I first spoke with an AIPAC group in my home State, in Arkansas, 5 years before that. I thank so many of you here for your support and your counsel. And I am deeply honored to be the first sitting President ever to address this conference.

There are many things for which I could express my thanks to AIPAC. I would like to begin by thanking you for having all these students here tonight. I think that's a wonderful—[*applause*] Thank you. Thank you. I must say, when we came out to such a nice, enthusiastic reception, and the Prime Minister and I were standing here and they started shouting, "Four more years," Steve whispered in my ear. He said, "Do you think they're talking about you or Prime Minister Rabin?" [*Laughter*]

And it wasn't so many years ago when we could have voted the students in both places in my home State, but we've changed that now, so you'll have to decide. But I'm glad to have you here.

I want to thank you for helping to make the partnership between the United States and Israel what it is today. I want to thank you for understanding by the enormous response you gave to the Prime Minister the incredibly pivotal role he has played in making that partnership what it is by having the

courage to take the risks he has taken to make a lasting peace. Few individuals that I have ever met have risen to the challenge of history as he has.

He could well have been content simply to be a member of the heroic generation that defended Israel at its birth and then to have risen to lead the Israeli military in preserving its strength against all odds. But instead, he has shepherded the Jewish state into a new era. And I am persuaded that no matter what happens in the days and weeks and months ahead, there will be no turning back, thanks in large measure to Prime Minister Rabin.

He has sacrificed many things large and small to make this relationship work and to pursue the peace. He has, for example, endured the ban on smoking at the White House. *[Laughter]* But I want you to know something else. When we first met, as I have said over and over again, he was looking at me and I was looking at him, and he was sort of sizing me up, and I already knew he was bigger than life. *[Laughter]* I said, if you will take risks for peace, my job is not to tell you what to do, how to do it, or when to do it, it is to minimize those risks. That is what I have tried to do.

I can tell you something, my fellow Americans, if they were easy, somebody would have done it before. Anytime a leader takes on an issue this fraught with difficulty, this full of emotion, where every day and every way even the leader must sometimes have mixed feelings about the decisions that have to be made, that requires a level of fortitude and vision most people in any elected democracy cannot muster. You have to be willing to watch your poll ratings go up and down like a bouncing ball. You have to be willing to be misunderstood. You have to be willing to know that no matter what you do, if it is all right, things beyond your control could still make it turn out all wrong. And if you do it anyway because you know that it is the only honorable course for the long-term interests of your people, that is true statesmanship. And that is what the Prime Minister has done.

I would like to ask your leave for a moment to discuss one other issue before I return to the Middle East. This weekend I have been working on two major areas of foreign policy:

first of all, preparing for the very good meeting I just finished with the Prime Minister and, secondly, getting ready for the upcoming trip I will take to Moscow and Kiev. Tomorrow marks the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Allied forces in World War II in Europe. We will mark that day here in a very moving and wonderful ceremony. Then I will get on the plane and travel to Moscow and then to Kiev to honor the sacrifices in that war of the peoples of Russia and the newly independent states.

Five decades ago, the people of the United States and the then Soviet Union joined together to oppose an evil unmatched in our history. In that conflict, 27 million Russians lost their lives—or members of the Soviet republic. They were soldiers and citizens; there were untold tens of thousands of women and children; they were Russians and Belarussians, Uzbeks and Jews, Ukrainians, Armenians, and more. Death touched every family. The siege of one city took a million lives in 900 days. This week we will honor that almost unimaginable sacrifice.

But the trip also gives us a chance to look forward. Just as we fought five decades ago for our common security, against the common evil, today we can fight for our common security by striving for common good. Fundamentally, this trip is about making the American people more secure and giving them a better future.

We've always based our policies from the beginning of our administration on a sober assessment of the challenges faced by these nations and a conviction that cooperation was in our best interests. We supported the forces of openness, democracy, and reform in Russia for one reason above all: It is good for the American people and good for the rest of the world.

In the last 2 years, that policy has made every American safer. It's helped Russia become a partner for trade, investment, and cooperation and to assume its rightful place among the nations of the world. We've got some concrete benefits to show for it. Some of you may not know this, but because of the agreement made last year between the United States and Russia, for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, there are

no Russian missiles pointed at the citizens of the United States.

We're destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a faster rate than our treaties require. We have removed nuclear weapons from Kazakhstan, and Ukraine and Belarus soon will follow. We're cooperating with the Russians to prevent nuclear weapons and bomb-making materials from falling into the hands of terrorists and smugglers. We're working together to extend indefinitely a nuclear nonproliferation treaty. For the first time in half a century there are no Russian troops in Central Europe or the Baltics. Almost 60 percent of the Russian economy is now in private hands, and the elements of a free society—elections, open debate, and a strong, independent media, whether the politicians like it or not—are beginning to take root.

Compared with only a few years ago, when severe disagreements with Moscow paralyzed our relations and threatened nuclear confrontation, we live in safer, more hopeful times because of this extraordinary opening to new freedom in Russia.

Of course, ultimately, the fate of this country, like every other, lies in the hands of its own people. And there is still a struggle between the proponents of reform and the forces of reaction. Peaceful, democratic change is not inevitable, and the forces of reform will suffer setbacks. But after all, that's no different from what happens in any democracy. The forces of hope and fear are not always in the proper balance.

Nonetheless, in the struggle for freedom, the engagement and support of the West, and especially the United States, can make an important difference. So more than ever, we have to engage and not withdraw. We will have our differences with Russia, but even our differences today occur in a different context. The movement of the relationship is plainly toward increasing democracy and increasing security. The interests of our people are clearly best supported by supporting that transition in Russia to a more free and open society. When we have similar goals, we'll cooperate. When we disagree, as we do and we will, we must manage those differences openly, constructively, and resolutely.

The war in Chechnya, where continued fighting can only spill more blood and further erode international support for Russian reform is a case in point. And Russia's cooperation with Iran is another.

All of you know that Iran, a country with more than enough oil to meet its energy needs, wants to buy reactors and other nuclear technology from Russia. This fact, together with other evidence about Iran's nuclear program, supports only one conclusion: Iran is bent on building nuclear weapons.

I believe Russia has a powerful interest in preventing a neighbor, especially one with Iran's track record, from possessing these weapons. Therefore, if this sale does go forward, Russian national security can only be weakened in the long term. The specter of an Iran armed with weapons of mass destruction and the missiles to deliver them haunts not only Israel but the entire Middle East and, ultimately, all the rest of us as well.

The United States, and I believe all the Western nations, have an overriding interest in containing the threat posed by Iran. Today Iran is the principal sponsor of global terrorism, as the Prime Minister has said. It seeks to undermine the West and its values by supporting the murderous attacks of the Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, and other terrorist groups. It aims to destroy the Middle East peace process.

You know the need for firm action here as well as I do. And I thank you for your long history of calling attention to Iran's campaign of terror. I thank you for urging a decisive response, and I thank you for supporting the action we have taken. We have worked to counter Iran's sponsorship of terrorism, its efforts to acquire nuclear weapons. We led our G-7 allies to ban weapons sales, tightening restrictions on dual-use technology and in preventing Iran from obtaining credit from international financial institutions. But more has to be done. That's why I ordered an end to all U.S. trade and investment with Iran.

I understand this will mean some sacrifice for American companies and our workers. But the United States has to lead the way. Only by leading can we convince other nations to join us. I hope you will help us convince other nations to join us.

Let me mention two other nations. We have also taken a strong stand against Libya. We remain determined to bring those responsible for the bombing of Pan Am 103 to trial. And make no mistake about it, though U.N. sanctions have weakened Saddam Hussein, he remains an aggressive, dangerous force. He showed that last October, menacing Kuwait until our Armed Forces' swift and skillful deployment forced him to back down. As long as he refuses to account for Iraqi weapons programs, past and present, as long as he refuses to comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions, we cannot agree, and we will not agree, to lift the sanctions against Iraq. We will not compromise on this issue, and we value the support we have received from the Prime Minister and the State of Israel.

Our measures to contain these rogue nations are part of a larger effort to combat all those who oppose peace, because even as we achieve great strides in resolving the age-old conflict between Arabs and Israelis, there remains a struggle between those searching for peace and those determined to deny it, between those who want a better future and those who seek a return to the bloody past in the Middle East.

No one should doubt the determination of the United States. We will oppose the enemies of peace as relentlessly as we support those who take risks for peace.

Now I want to go over some of the things that the Prime Minister has said because it is important that we be seen as one voice on these issues. As Steve said, before I was elected to office I vowed to be an unshakable supporter of Israel. I have kept that commitment. We have maintained current levels of security and economic assistance. We've made clear to all that our commitment to the security and well-being of the Jewish state is absolutely unwavering, and will continue to be.

In any agreement, in any agreement Israel concludes with Syria it will have the means to defend itself by itself. And no child in Kiryat Shemona or Metulla will go to bed afraid for his or her safety.

Today, Israel's military edge is greater than ever because the United States has kept its word. We approved the purchase of F-15-

I's for the Israeli Air Force because Israel should have the world's best long-range, multiple-role fighter. We have continued the transfer of 200 fighter aircraft and attack helicopters that began after the Gulf war. We are committing over \$350 million, the major share of development costs, for the Arrow missile system to assure that Israel never again is left defenseless in the face of a missile attack.

We delivered the most advanced multiple-launch rocket system in the world to give Israel defense forces the fire power they need. And to help enhance Israel's high-tech capabilities, we approved the sale of supercomputers, and we allowed access for the first time to the American space launch vehicle markets.

As you and AIPAC have argued for a decade, this is a two-way relationship that has real benefits for both our nations. Our strategic and intelligence cooperation is now deeper than ever. This year we conducted the largest ever joint military exercise with the idea. We are pre-positioning more military hardware in Israel. And the Pentagon has signed contracts worth more than \$3 billion to purchase high-quality military products from Israeli companies.

The landmark events of the last 2 years were, in part, possible because the United States worked to ensure Israel's strength, because we helped to give Israel the confidence to make peace by minimizing those risks, because we built a relationship of trust, and because we made it clear that no one could drive a wedge between us. And, Mr. Prime Minister, as long as I'm here, no one will ever drive a wedge between us.

But we have a new problem here at home to which others have alluded. Here in the United States and in positions of authority, there are those who claim to be friends of Israel and supporters of peace and people who believe they are friends of Israel and supporters of peace, whose efforts would make Israel less safe and peace less likely. Under the cover of budget cutting, back-door isolationists on the left and the right want to cut the legs off of our leadership in the Middle East and around the world. They want to deny the United States the resources

we need to support allies who take risks for peace.

Legislation being prepared in Congress could reduce by as much as 25 percent our foreign policy spending, which is now just a little over 1 percent of the Federal budget and is clearly, as a percentage of our income, by far the smallest of any advanced nation in the world. We did not win the cold war to walk away and blow the peace on foolish, penny-wise, pound-foolish budgeting.

Consider this: Everybody is happy that we're helping Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan get rid of nuclear weapons on their territory. That makes us safer. But we can't do it for free. We're helping to build democracy in Central and Eastern Europe, but we can't do that for free. We're combating the international flow of drugs that plagues our communities, but we can't do that for free.

All over the world, in countries that are desperately poor, people are trying to learn how to support themselves and to sustain their environment so that they can have orderly societies and be part of peaceful co-operation and not be consumed by the radical currents sweeping across the world. And for a pittance by American standards, we can make all the difference in the world. But we cannot do it for free.

More than any audience in this country, perhaps, you understand that. You understand the importance of our leadership and the reasonable price we must pay to sustain it. If we have to abandon that role simply because we are denied the tools of foreign aid and security assistance, one of the first to be affected is Israel, because Israel is on the frontline of the battle of freedom and peace, and Israel's strength is backed by America's strength and our global leadership.

There may be some who say, "Well, I'm going to cut all this, but I'll protect bilateral assistance to Israel." Ask the Prime Minister. Even if that is done, other budget cuts would threaten our efforts to help Israel reach a lasting peace with its neighbors. Because those efforts depend upon our ability to support everybody who takes risks for peace. If we renege on our commitments to Egypt, to Jordan, to the Palestinians, we will never convince anybody else that we will stand be-

hind our commitments. We cannot do it. We must not do it.

I thank you for your vision in supporting debt relief for Jordan. We need that kind of support to help the risk takers, including the Palestinian Authority, demonstrate to their people that peace does bring benefits, that it promises a better life for themselves and for their children. The price we pay for these programs, I say again, is small compared to their benefits.

So I ask you to help me to win bipartisan support to preserve American leadership, to prevent the isolationists from risking all that was achieved in the cold war and its aftermath. And I ask you to do something else when you go home. Survey after survey after survey show that if you ask the American people what are we spending on foreign aid and welfare, poll after poll after poll says we're spending somewhere between 40 and 50 percent of our budget on foreign aid and welfare. The truth is, we're spending a nickel of our budget on foreign aid and welfare—all of our foreign assistance programs probably define a little over 2 cents in the budget; our direct welfare programs, about 3 cents. If the American people knew the facts, they would support these endeavors. If they understood that of the 22 wealthiest countries in the world, we are dead last in the percentage of our income and the percentage of our national budget going to these programs, they would not walk away from this.

So when you go home, don't just lobby Congress. Write your folks in the local newspaper, call into some of those talk radio shows from time to time and tell the American people the truth.

Let me say just a few words about where we are now in the Middle East. The conflict of decades will not end with the stroke of a pen, or even two pens, but consider how far we have come. No one who was there will ever forget that brilliant day on the White House lawn when Prime Minister Rabin and Chairman Arafat resolved to end their conflict. No one who was there will ever forget the magnificent ceremony in the Araba on the ground at the Patriarch's Walk when Israel and Jordan made peace after 46 years. Those were two of my proudest moments as President. They should be two of



every American's proudest moments for our country in the last 2 years.

There is a constituency for peace in the Middle East growing stronger and stronger. Thanks in large measure to the tireless efforts of Secretary Christopher, Israel and Syria are engaged in serious, substantive negotiations on the terms of a treaty which can both secure another of Israel's borders and put an end to the entire conflict. A number of Arab countries, Morocco, Tunisia, Oman, Qatar, have begun to normalize relations with Israel. We have begun to dismantle the Arab boycott, and I think we'll see its end before too long. I will not rest until we do see the end of the boycott. It is high time, and it should be ended.

I think all of you know that peace requires more than treaties. It surely requires economic progress. We are moving aggressively on this front. We're continuing to provide the \$10 billion in loan guarantees so Israel can absorb the 600,000 emigrants from the former Soviet Union and finance the investment and infrastructure it needs for a growing economy. We are cooperating to turn cutting-edge technologies into new products and to create new jobs for our nations, working to create a Middle East development bank, encouraging development in Israel and Jordan that will generate good new jobs, starting to attack the economic discontent of Egypt's young where extremism has its roots.

After all these efforts, and for all the energy the Israelis, Arabs, and Americans have devoted to the cause, the circle of peace is not yet closed. And the dream of the day when all Israelis are truly secure in their homes and free from fear is not yet fulfilled. The closer we come to achieving that peace, the more desperate and fanatical become the enemies of peace.

In the wake of the tragedy in Oklahoma City, about which the Prime Minister spoke so eloquently, I think our Americans now feel more strongly than ever and understand more clearly than ever the sense of horror and outrage at terrorism, at the bus bombings, the attacks on soldiers, the killings in the streets of Jerusalem. The cost of all this inhumanity and cowardice has been appalling. We grieve with the families of the victims. We thank the Prime Minister for going

to see the family of Alicia Flatow. And we—[applause]—and we honor the memories of Alicia and Corporal Waxman and so many others.

We are encouraging Chairman Arafat to continue and to intensify his efforts to crack down on extremists. He is now taking concrete steps to prosecute those who plan and carry out acts of violence. These measures and others to confront terror and establish the rule of law must be continued. The peace will never succeed without them.

As I said in the Knesset last fall, the enemies of peace will not succeed because they are the past, not the future. We will continue to do everything in our power to make that statement true.

But we face today in the Middle East, in Russia, and throughout the world a whole set of new challenges in a new era. The global economy, the explosion of information, the incredible advance of technology, the rapid movement of information, and people, all these forces are bringing us into a more integrated world. They prod people on the one hand to realize that it makes sense to stop killing each other and to make peace and to start working together, whether that's in the Middle East or Northern Ireland or Southern Africa.

That means that the next century can be the most exciting time, the time most full of human possibility in all history. But we also know that all these forces of integration have a dark side as well, for they make us vulnerable in new ways to organized destruction and evil, in terrorism terms and in terms of proliferating weapons of mass destruction. We see that not only at the terrible tragedy in Oklahoma City or the World Trade Center or the streets of Israel, we also see it in the subway stations of Japan. The more open and flexible our people become, the more we move around and relate to each other, the more vulnerable we will be, and the more vigilant we must become.

In the Middle East, as nowhere else, these two forces of integration and disintegration are locked in a deadly struggle, a strong Israel backed by a strong America, building peace with its neighbors, a new openness in the region but, on the other side, these continu-

ing desperate attempts of fanatics, eager to keep old and bloody conflicts alive.

We can beat them. We must beat them. But we are going to have to work at it. We cannot grow weak. We cannot grow weary. And we cannot lose our self-confidence. If we give up on the peace, if we give up on our freedoms, if we walk away from what we are and what we can become, in the United States, Japan, the former Soviet Union, but most of all in the Middle East, then they will have won, even if we defeat them.

So I ask you in closing, stand for the forces of the future. Stand with this brave man in his attempts to make peace. And let's don't stop until the job is done.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 p.m. at the Sheraton Washington. In his remarks, he referred to Steve Grossman, president, Larry Weinberg, chairman emeritus, and Neal Sher, executive director, American Israel Public Affairs Committee; Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel; Health Minister Efraim Sneh of Israel; Itamar Rabinovich, Israeli Ambassador to the U.S.; Lester Pollack, chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Martin Indyk, U.S. Ambassador to Israel; and Hamas kidnapping victim Cpl. Nahshon Waxman.

### **Executive Order 12959—Prohibiting Certain Transactions With Respect to Iran**

*May 6, 1995*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*) (IEEPA), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.*), section 505 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9) (ISDCA), and section 301 of title 3, United States Code,

**I, William J. Clinton**, President of the United States of America, in order to take steps with respect to Iran in addition to those set forth in Executive Order No. 12957 of March 15, 1995, to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States referred to in that order, hereby order:

**Section 1.** The following are prohibited, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses that may be issued pursuant to this order, and notwithstanding any contract entered into or any license or permit granted prior to the effective date of this order: (a) the importation into the United States, or the financing of such importation, of any goods or services of Iranian origin, other than Iranian-origin publications and materials imported for news publications or news broadcast dissemination;

(b) except to the extent provided in section 203(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)), the exportation from the United States to Iran, the Government of Iran, or to any entity owned or controlled by the Government of Iran, or the financing of such exportation, of any goods, technology (including technical data or other information subject to the Export Administration Regulations, 15 CFR Parts 768-799 (1994) (the "EAR")), or services;

(c) the reexportation to Iran, the Government of Iran, or to any entity owned or controlled by the Government of Iran, of any goods or technology (including technical data or other information) exported from the United States, the exportation of which to Iran is subject to export license application requirements under any United States regulations in effect immediately prior to the issuance of this order, unless, for goods, they have been (i) substantially transformed outside the United States, or (ii) incorporated into another product outside the United States and constitute less than 10 percent by value of that product exported from a third country;

(d) except to the extent provided in section 203(b) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1702(b)), any transaction, including purchase, sale, transportation, swap, financing, or brokering transactions, by a United States person relating to goods or services of Iranian origin or owned or controlled by the Government of Iran;

(e) any new investment by a United States person in Iran or in property (including entities) owned or controlled by the Government of Iran;

(f) the approval or facilitation by a United States person of the entry into or perform-

ance by an entity owned or controlled by a United States person of a transaction or contract (i) prohibited as to United States persons by subsection (c), (d), or (e) above, or (ii) relating to the financing of activities prohibited as to United States persons by those subsections, or of a guaranty of another person's performance of such transaction or contract; and

(g) any transaction by any United States person or within the United States that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in this order.

**Sec. 2.** For the purposes of this order:

(a) the term "person" means an individual or entity;

(b) the term "entity" means a partnership, association, trust, joint venture, corporation, or other organization;

(c) the term "United States person" means any United States citizen, permanent resident alien, entity organized under the laws of the United States (including foreign branches), or any person in the United States;

(d) the term "Iran" means the territory of Iran and any other territory or marine area, including the exclusive economic zone and continental shelf, over which the Government of Iran claims sovereignty, sovereign rights or jurisdiction, provided that the Government of Iran exercises partial or total *de facto* control over the area or derives a benefit from economic activity in the area pursuant to international arrangements; and

(e) the term "new investment" means (i) a commitment or contribution of funds or other assets, or (ii) a loan or other extension of credit.

**Sec. 3.** The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, the requirement of reports, including reports by United States persons on oil transactions engaged in by their foreign affiliates with Iran or the Government of Iran, and to employ all powers granted to the President by IEEPA and ISDCA as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agen-

cies of the United States Government. All agencies of the United States Government are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order.

**Sec. 4.** The Secretary of the Treasury may not authorize the exportation or reexportation to Iran, the Government of Iran, or an entity owned or controlled by the Government of Iran of any goods, technology, or services subject to export license application requirements of another agency of the United States Government, if authorization of the exportation or reexportation by that agency would be prohibited by law.

**Sec. 5.** Sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order No. 12613 of October 29, 1987, and sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order No. 12957 of March 15, 1995, are hereby revoked to the extent inconsistent with this order. Otherwise, the provisions of this order supplement the provisions of Executive Orders No. 12613 and 12957.

**Sec. 6.** Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

**Sec. 7.** The measures taken pursuant to this order are in response to actions of the Government of Iran occurring after the conclusion of the 1981 Algiers Accords, and are intended solely as a response to those later actions.

**Sec. 8.** (a) This order is effective at 12:01 a.m., eastern daylight time, on May 7, 1995, except that (i) section 1(b), (c), and (d) of this order shall not apply until 12:01 a.m., eastern daylight time, on June 6, 1995, to trade transactions under contracts in force as of the date of this order if such transactions are authorized pursuant to Federal regulations in force immediately prior to the date of this order ("existing trade contracts"), and (ii) letters of credit and other financing agreements with respect to existing trade contracts may be performed pursuant to their terms with respect to underlying trade transactions occurring prior to 12:01 a.m., eastern daylight time, on June 6, 1995.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 6, 1995.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:43 p.m., May 8, 1995]

NOTE: This Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 8, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on May 9.

### **Letter to Congressional Leaders on Iran**

*May 6, 1995*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

On March 15, 1995, I reported to the Congress that, pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)), and section 301 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631), I exercised my statutory authority to declare a national emergency to respond to the actions and policies of the Government of Iran and to issue an Executive order that prohibited United States persons from entering into contracts for the financing or the overall management or supervision of the development of petroleum resources located in Iran or over which Iran claims jurisdiction.

Following the imposition of these restrictions with regard to the development of Iranian petroleum resources, Iran has continued to engage in activities that represent a threat to the peace and security of all nations. I have now taken additional measures to respond to Iran's continuing support for international terrorism, including support for acts that undermine the Middle East peace process, as well as its intensified efforts to acquire weapons of mass destruction. I have issued a new Executive order and hereby report to the Congress pursuant to the above authorities and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9(c)).

The new order I have issued with respect to Iran:

—Prohibits exportation from the United States to Iran or to the Government of

Iran of goods, technology or services, including trade financing by U.S. banks;

—Prohibits the reexportation of certain U.S. goods and technology to Iran from third countries;

—Prohibits transactions such as brokering and other dealing by United States persons in Iranian goods and services;

—Prohibits new investments by United States persons in Iran or in property owned or controlled by the Government of Iran;

—Prohibits U.S. companies from approving or facilitating their subsidiaries' performance of transactions that they themselves are prohibited from performing;

—Continues the 1987 prohibition on the importation into the United States of goods and services of Iranian origin; and

—Allows U.S. companies a 30-day period in which to perform trade transactions pursuant to contracts predating this order that are now prohibited.

With the exception of the trade noted above, all prohibitions contained in the Executive order are effective as of 12:01 a.m., eastern daylight time, on May 7, 1995.

This new order provides that the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the order. The order also authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to require reports, including reports on foreign affiliates' oil trading with Iran. There are certain transactions subject to the prohibitions contained in the Executive order that I have directed the Secretary of the Treasury to authorize through licensing, including transactions by United States persons related to the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal in The Hague, established pursuant to the Algiers Accords, and other international obligations and United States Government functions. Such transactions also include the export of agricultural commodities consistent with section 5712(c) of title 7, United States Code. In addition, United States persons may be licensed to participate in market-based swaps of crude oil from the Caspian Sea area for Iranian crude oil in support of energy

projects in Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan.

This order revokes sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order No. 12613 of October 29, 1987, and sections 1 and 2 of Executive Order No. 12957 of March 15, 1995, to the extent they are inconsistent with this order. The declaration of national emergency made by Executive Order No. 12957 remains in effect and is not affected by this order.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Newt Gingrich, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on May 8.

### **Remarks on the 50th Anniversary of V-E Day in Arlington, Virginia May 8, 1995**

Thank you, Colonel McIntosh, for those remarkable words and your remarkable service. General Shalikashvili, Secretary Perry, Secretary Brown, Father Sampson, Members of Congress, members of the Armed Forces, distinguished guests, American veterans all, and especially to our most honored guests, the veterans of the Second World War:

Fifty years ago on this day the guns of war in Europe fell silent. A long shadow that had been cast on the entire continent was lifted. Freedom's warriors rejoiced. We come today, 50 years later, to recall their triumph, to remember their sacrifice, and to rededicate ourselves to the ideals for which they fought and for which so many of them died.

By Victory Day in Europe, from the beaches of Normandy to the gates of Moscow, some 40 million people lost their lives in World War II. These enormous but faceless numbers hid millions upon millions of personal tragedies: soldiers shot and shattered by weapons of war, prisoners cut down by disease and starvation, children buried in the rubble of bombed out buildings, and entire families exterminated solely because of the blood that ran in their veins. And for every death, so many more fell wounded, physically and emotionally. They would survive, but their lives would be changed forever.

At war's end, an 8-year-old boy, already a veteran of air raids and bomb shelters, was asked what he wanted to be when he grew up. He answered with one word: Alive.

The American people, secure on our continent, sobered by memories of the last war, were not eager to enter into the struggle. But they were stirred by the extraordinary courage of the British, all alone and carrying liberty's flickering torch into Europe's darkening night. Pushed by their passion for freedom, prodded by the wise leadership of President Roosevelt, and provoked, finally, by the infamy at Pearl Harbor, Americans went to war.

It became an all-consuming effort. Millions were heroes here on the home front. They built the planes, the ships, the tanks, the trucks that carried the Allied armies into battle. They bought victory bonds to pay for the war. They collected scrap metal for weapons, worn-out rubber for tires, left-over fat for explosives. And they planted 20 million victory gardens to help feed the Nation.

With good cheer they sacrificed, rationing food and clothing, holding themselves to 3 gallons of gas a week. And President Roosevelt willed them onward. "There is one front and one battle," he said, "where everyone in the United States, every man, woman, and child, is in action. That front is right here at home."

Across the ocean, their fathers and brothers, sisters and mothers, friends and neighbors gave the best years of their lives to the terrible business of war. Some of them were among the greatest leaders our country and the world have ever known: Eisenhower, Marshall, Bradley, Patton. But no matter their rank, every soldier, airman, marine, sailor, every merchant marine, every nurse, every doctor was a hero who carried the banner of justice into the battle for freedom.

Some of them are here with us today: The gentleman who introduced me, Frederick McIntosh, was then an Air Force lieutenant. He flew, as has been said, 104 missions. His daring dive-bomb raids on D-Day helped clear the way for the Allied landing; another veteran behind me, Robert Katayama, a private with the Japanese-American 442d Regimental Combat Team, that finally broke through the formidable Gothic line in Italy

after 5 months of ferocious assault; another, Anna Connelly Wilson, a nurse who tended American soldiers moving gasoline and munitions across the deserts of Iran into the hands of our Russian allies; another, Abben MaGuire, a Navy demolition expert who landed on Omaha Beach ahead of the Allied assault, clearing mines, barbed wire, and booby traps, under heavy fire from the enemy; another, George Ellers, a seaman on Coast Guard boats, charged with protecting the merchant marine armadas that ferried food and supplies from America to Europe and beyond; Joseph Kahoe, a lieutenant with the all-African-American 761st tank battalion, who braved the deadening cold of the Ardennes and the brutal Nazi counterattacks to help win the Battle of the Bulge; and Father Francis Sampson, an Army chaplain who parachuted into Normandy, then into Holland, was wounded, captured, but managed to escape.

In their bravery, and that of all their brothers and sisters in arms, America found the will to defeat the forces of fascism. And today we, the sons and daughters of their sacrifice, say thank you and well done.

I ask all the veterans of World War II now to stand and be recognized. *[Applause]*

During the war's final weeks, America's fighting forces thundered across Europe, liberating small villages and great cities from a long nightmare. Many witnessed an outpouring of love and gratitude they would remember for the rest of their lives.

Deep in the Bavarian countryside, Corporal Bill Ellington piloted his armored vehicle into a battle against retreating enemy troops. As a firefight raged, a rail-thin teenage boy ran, shouting toward the tank. He was a young Polish Jew, Samuel Pizar, who had survived 4 years at Auschwitz and other concentration camps, but along the way had lost his entire family. Samuel Pizar had seen the tank and its glorious 5-point white star from his hideaway in a barn.

As Ellington looked down at him, the boy dropped to his knees and repeated over and over the few words of English his mother had taught him: "God bless America. God bless America." And Ellington, the son of a slave, lifted the boy through the hatch and into the warm embrace of freedom.

Bill Ellington died a few years ago. But Samuel Pizar, now an American citizen, is here with us today. And I'd like to ask him to stand as a reminder of what that war was all about. *[Applause]*

The saga of hope emerged from the ashes of a horror that defies comprehension still: the Nazi death camps. In the gas chambers and crematoriums was proof of man's infinite capacity for evil. In the empty eyes of the skeletal survivors was a question that to this day has never been answered: How could this happen?

But at 2:40 a.m. on May 7th, in a small red-brick schoolhouse in France, the Germans signed their unconditional surrender. The armistice took effect the next day, this day 50 years ago.

News of the victory spread and grew from a ripple of excitement to a river of joy. The liberated capitals of Western Europe were awash in relief and jubilation. The boulevards burst with flag-waving, teary-eyed thanksgiving celebrants. Everywhere people tore down their black-out curtains and let the light of peace shine out.

In the sky over Moscow, gigantic white rays of light from huge projectors slashed the darkness of night, and a 1,000-gun salute shook the city. There, too, millions teemed into the street. But their joy was dulled by the pain of their nation's unique sacrifice, for one out of every eight Soviet citizens was killed in World War II, 27 million people. At almost every table in every home there was an empty place.

In London, where a brave and defiant people had stood alone through the war's darkest hours, great bonfires ringed the city. And on the balcony of Buckingham Palace, Prime Minister Churchill stilled the delirious crowd with his own silence. Then he took one, deep, all-embracing bow, and the crowd exploded into a roar of triumph. "This is your victory," Churchill declared. And the people of the United Kingdom answered back as one: "No, it is yours." Of course, both were right.

Here at home, the Washington Monument, the Capitol Dome, the Statue of Liberty were bathed in floodlights for the very first time since Pearl Harbor. New York was New Year's Day and the Fourth of July rolled into one. Millions cheered, shouted, sang,

danced in the streets. And in an image that traveled all around the world, a sailor took a nurse in his arms and kissed her, with all the pent-up youthful enthusiasm of a people forgetting for an instant the new burdens of adulthood.

Less than a month in office, President Truman addressed the Nation, and said, "This is a solemn, but glorious hour. I only wish FDR had lived to witness this day." Millions of Americans shared that conviction, for in their darkest hour, President Roosevelt refused to let us give up in despair. He rallied the Americans to defeat depression and triumph in war. And so it was his victory, too.

It was America's victory, but the job for us was not yet complete. In the Pacific, war raged on. During the 3 months between V-E and V-J Day, many thousands more of our fighting men and women would lose their lives. After Japan surrendered, who could have blamed the American people for wanting to turn from the front lines abroad to the home front? But after winning the most difficult and crucial victory in our Nation's history, our leaders were determined not to repeat the mistakes of the past.

Instead, they took to new challenges with a newfound confidence. And this remarkable generation of Americans, then through NATO, the United Nations, and the Marshall Plan, created the institutions and provided the resources and the vision that brought half a century of security and prosperity to the West and brought our former enemies back to life and to true partnership with us. And their special resolve and military strength held totalitarianism in check until the power of democracy, the failure of communism, and the heroic determination of people to be free prevailed in the cold war.

Today we must draw inspiration from the extraordinary generation we come here to honor, a generation that won the war and then made sure we would not lose the peace, a generation that understood our destiny is inexorably linked to that of other nations, a generation that believed that with our great wealth, great power, and great blessings of democratic freedom come great responsibilities to stand for and work for the common good.

So let me say again to the generation that won the Second World War, on this 50th anniversary, on behalf of the American people, we say, thank you. Thank you, and God bless you. Because of all you did we live in a moment of hope, in a Nation at peace. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at our children. Our economy is sound. And because free markets and democracy now are on the march throughout the world, more people than ever before have the opportunity to reach their God-given potential. All because of what you did 50 years ago.

But there is one thing that even you could not do, that no generation can ever do. You could not banish the forces of darkness from the future. We confront them now in different forms all around the world and, painfully, here at home. But you taught us the most important lesson: that we can prevail over the forces of darkness, that we must prevail. That is what we owe to you, and the incomparable legacy you have given us and what we all owe to the generations of remarkable Americans yet to come.

Thank you for teaching us that lesson. God bless you, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. at Fort Myer.

### **Remarks on Antiterrorism Legislation May 8, 1995**

Before I leave on this trip, I want to say a word about the antiterrorism legislation that I have sent to the Congress.

I sent that bill to Congress because it will strengthen our ability to investigate and prosecute and to deter—to deter the kinds of problems we saw and the kind of horror we endured at Oklahoma City and of course at the World Trade Center.

I applaud the fact that the leadership in Congress has said that they will have that bill on my desk by Memorial Day. That is only 3 weeks away. And so, before I leave, I want to urge Congress again to pass this legislation and to do it without delay.

Nothing can justify turning this bill into a political football. We have kept politics

completely out of our fight against terrorism. We kept it out of our mourning. We kept it out of our law enforcement efforts. We're going to keep it out of the rebuilding efforts in Oklahoma. And we must keep it out of this legislative effort.

The Government needs the ability to deal with the technological challenges presented by terrorism in the modern age. This legislation does it, and there is simply no reason to delay it. Nothing can justify it. And it needs to pass and pass now.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. at Andrews Air Force Base prior to his departure for Moscow, Russia.

### **Statement on Welfare Reform Initiatives in Delaware**

*May 8, 1995*

Today, my administration has approved a bold plan for welfare reform in Delaware that promotes work, requires parental responsibility, and protects children. Delaware is the 28th State welfare reform experiment to be freed from Federal rules and regulations under this administration. Under Governor Tom Carper's leadership, Delaware will impose a time limit on benefits, provide job training opportunities, increase child support enforcement, and require teenage mothers to live at home and stay in school.

In particular, I am pleased that Delaware joins 14 other States in requiring welfare recipients to sign personal responsibility agreements which is a contract for work, in order to receive assistance. These contracts were an important part of the welfare reform legislation I sent Congress last year and are essential to real reform that moves people from welfare to work. Personal responsibility is at the heart of welfare reform, and personal responsibility contracts must be part of any national welfare reform plan.

I will continue to work with Congress to enact welfare reform legislation that includes real work requirements and the incentives and resources for States to move people from welfare to work. Welfare reform must be tough on work and on parents who walk away

from their responsibilities, not tough on children.

### **Message to the Senate Transmitting the Hungary-United States Extradition Treaty**

*May 8, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Hungary on Extradition, signed at Budapest on December 1, 1994. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State with respect to this Treaty.

The Treaty is designed to update and standardize the conditions and procedures for extradition between the United States and Hungary. Most significantly, it substitutes a dual-criminality clause for the current list of extraditable offenses, thereby expanding the number of crimes for which extradition can be granted. The Treaty also provides a legal basis for temporarily surrendering prisoners to stand trial for crimes against the laws of the Requesting State.

The Treaty further represents an important step in combatting terrorism by excluding from the scope of the political offense exception serious offenses typically committed by terrorists, e.g., crimes against a Head of State or first family member of either Party, aircraft hijacking, aircraft sabotage, crimes against internationally protected persons, including diplomats, hostage-taking, narcotics-trafficking, and other offenses for which the United States and Hungary have an obligation to extradite or submit to prosecution by reason of a multilateral treaty, convention, or other international agreement. The United States and Hungary also agree to exclude from the political offense exception major common crimes, such as murder, kidnapping, and placing or using explosive devices.

The provisions in this Treaty follow generally the form and content or extradition treaties recently concluded by the United



States. Upon entry into force, it will supersede the Convention for the Mutual Delivery of Criminals, Fugitives from Justice, in Certain Cases Between the Government of the United States of America and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, signed at Washington, July 3, 1856, with certain exceptions.

This Treaty will make a significant contribution to international cooperation in law enforcement. I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 8, 1995.

**Remarks at the Dedication of the  
Central Museum for the Great  
Patriotic War in Moscow, Russia**

*May 9, 1995*

President Yeltsin, Mr. Prime Minister, Prime Minister Major—[*inaudible*—Shevardnadze, Mr. Mayor—[*inaudible*—the veterans of the Great Patriotic War. We come together today as friends to celebrate our shared victory over fascism, to remember the sacrifice of those of you who made it possible, and to fulfill the promise of an enduring peace that shown so brightly, but all too briefly, 50 years ago today.

Brave men and women from our nations fought a common enemy with uncommon valor. Theirs was a partnership forged in battle, strengthened by sacrifice, cemented by blood. Their extraordinary effort speaks to us, still, of all that is possible when our people are joined in a just cause.

With me today is an American veteran of the Great War, Lieutenant William Robertson. As the war entered its final days, Lieutenant Robertson's patrol sighted troops led by Lieutenant Aleksander Sylvashko across the Elba River. Crawling toward each other on the girders of a wrecked bridge, these two officers met at the midpoint and embraced in triumph. They exchanged photographs of wives, children, loved ones, whose freedom they had defended, whose future they would secure. The Americans did not speak Rus-

sian, and the Russians did not speak English, but they shared a language of joy.

The Americans at the Elba remember how their new Russian friends danced that night, but how their jubilation turned solemn, because each of them had lost someone, a family member, a loved one, a friend. One out of every eight Soviet citizens was killed, soldiers in battle; prisoners, by disease or starvation; innocent children who could find no refuge. In all of the 27 million people who lost their lives to the war, there were Russians and Belarusians, Uzbeks and Jews, Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, and more. These numbers numb the mind and defy comprehension.

I say to you, President Yeltsin, and to all the people of Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union, the cold war obscured our ability to fully appreciate what your people had suffered and how your extraordinary courage helped to hasten the victory we all celebrate today. Now we must all say, you wrote some of the greatest chapters in the history of heroism, at Leningrad, in the battle for Moscow, in the defense of Stalingrad, and in the assault on Berlin, where your country lost 300,000 casualties in only 14 days.

I have come here today on behalf of all the people of the United States to express our deep gratitude for all that you gave and all that you lost to defeat the forces of fascism. In victory's afterglow, the dream of peace soon gave way to the reality of the cold war, but now Russia has opened itself to new freedoms. We have an opportunity and an obligation to rededicate ourselves today to the promise of that moment 50 years ago when Europe's guns fell silent.

Just as Russians and Americans fought together 50 years ago against the common evil, so today we must fight for the common good. We must work for an end to the awful savagery of war and the senseless violence of terrorism. We must work for the creation of a united, prosperous Europe. We must work for the freedom of all of our people to live up to their God-given potential. These are our most sacred tasks and our most solemn obligations.

This is what we owe to the brave veterans who brought tears to our eyes when they

marched together with such pride and courage in Red Square today. And this is what we owe to the generations of our children still to be born. Let us do our duty as the veterans of World War II did theirs.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m. at the Poklonnaya Gora Monument. In his remarks, he referred to President Boris Yeltsin of Russia; Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze of Georgia; Prime Minister John Major of the United Kingdom; and Mayor Uri Luzhkov of Moscow. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Statement on Senate Confirmation of John Deutch as Director of Central Intelligence**

*May 9, 1995*

I am very pleased with the Senate's overwhelming 98-0 vote to confirm John Deutch as Director of Central Intelligence. The Senate's action is further affirmation of the outstanding leadership and management skills John Deutch will bring to the intelligence community and the CIA. I have the greatest confidence that he will bring a renewed sense of purpose, direction, and spirit to the CIA and the intelligence community.

### **Exchange With Reporters Following Discussions With President Boris Yeltsin of Russia in Moscow**

*May 10, 1995*

**Q.** Mr. President, have you reached any agreements?

**President Clinton.** We're not finished with our conversations, and we'll have a statement later. We're having a good meeting, and I would just say again what I have said repeatedly—President Yeltsin and I have worked hard for more than 2 years to improve the safety and security of the people of Russia and the people of the United States. We are dismantling nuclear weapons at a more rapid rate than our treaties require. And we are working hard to improve the securities of our people. And that's what we've been doing here this morning. We've had a

very good meeting, and we'll have more to say about the conversations we've had and will continue to have when we do our press statement.

**Q.** [Inaudible]—solve—[inaudible]—problems—[inaudible]—any of the problems? Iran?

**The President.** No one will ever solve all the problems, but—[inaudible].

NOTE: The exchange began at approximately 11:30 a.m. at the Kremlin. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

### **The President's News Conference With President Yeltsin of Russia in Moscow**

*May 10, 1995*

**President Yeltsin.** Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, journalists: This is the seventh meeting of the Presidents of the U.S. and Russia. This visit by Bill Clinton to Russia is of particular importance. The participation of such a high guest in the 9th of May celebration is seen by us as a tribute to the people killed in our common struggle against fascism.

Before each Russian-U.S. summit, there is no shortage of all kinds of speculations about Russian and U.S. contradictions. Sometimes they even refer to crises in our relations. The results of the Moscow talks have yet again denied these speculations.

Of course, even after the summit, differences to a number of issues have not disappeared. The important thing is that we seek to address these problems while maintaining a balance of interest and without prejudice to each other's interests but, on the contrary, in assisting each other.

The agenda of this meeting was very busy and comprehensive. We addressed the key issues of international life, issues which are of top priority for both countries. I'm referring, above all, to the evolution of the European security structures, the START treaty and the ABM Treaty, strengthening the non-proliferation regime, economic cooperation, and terrorism.

It is of fundamental importance that the discussion which we had about the model for European security proceed at taking into ac-

count the new role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. Today, this organization is beginning to play a central role in maintaining stability on the European Continent.

We exchanged views on NATO issues. Today we better understand the interests and concerns of each other, and yet we still don't have answers to a number of questions. Our positions even remain unchanged.

I hope that our joint statement on matters related to strengthening European security will provide a starting point for further efforts because it provides for cooperation in the establishment of a single indivisible Europe looking into the future.

A serious document has been agreed on the problem of the ABM. We adopted a joint statement on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. I believe that that agreement will mark a major contribution to the adoption at the New York conference of a decision on an indefinite and unconditional extension of the NPT treaty. The conference will probably end tomorrow.

At the negotiations, the question was raised about future Russian supplies of equipment to Iran. That is, of course, not a simple question, and of course, you are going to ask that question, and both Presidents will answer that question.

We discussed in detail the implementation of the economic charter we signed last year. As a result, we adopted a statement on the question of economic reform, trade, and investment. The U.S. President expressed his support for our reforms. We agreed to speed up the process of Russia's entry to the system of international economic institutions, above all, the COCOM.

Of course, we discussed the Chechen issue. This is an internal matter for Russia, but I also believe it does have an international aspect. Russia has accepted the presence at Grozny of the OSCE assistance group. Terrorism knows no borders. Unfortunately, U.S. citizens recently were confronted with that barbarious phenomenon. I believe that everybody would agree that we should fight this evil jointly, and we have agreed upon that.

During the talks, we had a fruitful exchange of views on the meeting of the politi-

cal eight in Halifax, and not of the political but also of the economic eight. We also discussed a number of other international issues.

Now I am ready to answer your questions. I give the floor to the President of the United States of America, Mr. William Clinton.

**President Clinton.** First of all, I'd like to thank President Yeltsin and the Russian people for making me and the rest of our American delegation and the others who came here for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II feel so welcome. I was honored to play a part in that, and I think it was a very important day for our country and for our relationship.

Today we focused on the future. And if you ask me to summarize in a word or two what happened today, I would say that we advanced the security interests of the people of the United States and the people of Russia. We increased the safety of the future of our peoples, and we proved once again that this regular, disciplined, working relationship that we have established, rooted in Russia's commitment to democracy and in a mature and balanced dialog and a commitment to continue to work on the differences between us in the areas of common opportunity, we proved that this is a good relationship and that it is worth the investment and that we are approaching it in the proper way.

I characterize this as a success from a security point of view for several reasons. First of all, with regard to European security, while there was not an agreement between us on the details on the question of the expansion of NATO, Russia did agree to enter into the Partnership For Peace. And I committed myself in return at the meeting at the end of this month to encourage the beginning of the NATO-Russia dialog, which I think is very important. There must be a special relationship between NATO and Russia.

We agreed to continue to discuss this at Halifax, and again at the end of the year when we see each other. And I made it clear that I thought that anything done with NATO had to meet two criteria: Number one, it must advance the interests of all the partners for peace, the security interests of all of them, including Russia, and number two, it must advance the long-term goal of the Unit-

ed States, which I have articulated from the beginning of my Presidency, of an integrated Europe, which I believe is very important. And I think Russia shares both of those objectives.

Secondly, with regard to the nuclear sales to Iran, as you know, the United States opposes the sale of the reactor and the centrifuge. I want to say that I was deeply impressed that President Yeltsin told me that he had decided, in the interest of non-proliferation, not to supply the centrifuge and related equipment to Iran. I shared with him some of the intelligence from the United States on the question of whether Iran is trying to become a nuclear power. And we agreed in light of the questions of facts that need to be determined here and Russia's strong support for nonproliferation, to refer the question of the reactor itself to the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission for further work on resolution.

I was very pleased today that we were able to make progress on the outstanding issues relating to weapon sales which will permit Russia to be a founding member of the post-COCOM regime, something, again, which will make the world a safer place.

Fourthly, we agreed that both of us would work as hard as we could to get START II ratified this year, and then to go beyond that to talk about what we could do further to support the denuclearization of the world and of our two arsenals.

Fifthly, we agreed that we should step up our efforts in combatting terrorism and organized crime, a problem that affects not only our two nations but also many others in the world as we have sadly seen. And we discussed some fairly specific things that we might do together to intensify our efforts.

As President Yeltsin said, we reaffirmed today in specific actions our support for the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and we look forward to its permanent extension. And we hope that the indefinite—excuse me, the indefinite extension will be adopted soon.

And finally, we were able to reach agreement on the ABM theater missile defenses issue, which is a very important one, and many of the Americans here know, important for our attempts to go forward on START II and other things back home.

We talked about our economic cooperation. We talked about the progress Russia is making. I expressed again the strong concern of the United States that the violence in Chechnya should be brought to an end. I urged the permanent extension of the ceasefire. I was encouraged that President Yeltsin, I believe, understands the gravity of this matter and also wants it concluded as quickly as possible.

So we are, I think, in a better position in our two countries today, and our people will be safer as a result of this meeting. It was an advance for security. There was significant progress made. And we still have work to do.

**Press Secretary Sergey Medvedev.** Dear colleagues, you have an opportunity to ask questions. I wish to remind you that we will give you the floor in sequence with my colleague, the Press Secretary of the U.S. President, Mr. McCurry.

The first question, please.

### **Expansion of NATO**

**Q.** Russian Public Television. Boris Nikolayevich, before the negotiations began, both sides were quite categorical on questions at issue. Are any concessions possible today on the NATO problem? Are there any linkages possible? I know that President Clinton insists on flank restrictions in the south of Russia. Well, if both sides do not concede, what will President Clinton bring back to the United States?

**President Yeltsin.** Well, I must tell you that we didn't have such a trading system in our talks. On the contrary, on the question of flank restrictions, Bill was the first to bring this matter up. And he said that he will surely support us on this difficult issue because it is true we are sort of in a trap with that issue.

Now about NATO, we should look at this question in broader terms. What about general European security and NATO? I cannot say that after protracted discussions today on this subject, and by the way we even had to change the schedule, we, in fact, had a never-ending meeting, and we were not able to dot the i's and cross all the t's. And we decided, first, if it is so difficult, let us not hurry, and then let us continue our consultations when we meet in Canada in Halifax.

We also believe that it may be we won't be able to agree in Halifax either. And we may need another meeting in November when the United Nations marks its 50th anniversary. We will meet in New York once again, and maybe at that time we may come to some final agreement.

**President Clinton.** I think this meeting was a win-win meeting. That is, I do not—I believe that both our countries advanced our interests and the interests of our people.

With regard to European security, the important thing for me was—not that Russia and the United States would agree today on the details of NATO expansion—indeed, it's important for all of you to understand, NATO has not agreed on that. NATO has not agreed on that.

This whole year, 1995, was to be devoted for the rationale for expanding NATO and then determining how it might be done, with no consideration whatever of who would be in the included membership and when that would be done. That was the plan. So not only has there—have we not agreed on that, as far as I know, there may be significant differences among the NATO partners themselves.

The important thing for me was that the President and I would agree that European unity, integration, is still our goal. We don't want a differently divided Europe. And that our NATO expansion plans should enhance the interests, the security interests of all of our partners, including Russia. Now for my part, I haven't changed my position from the beginning on how this should be done.

The second thing I want to say is, the most important thing to me is that Russia has now agreed to proceed with participation in the Partnership For Peace, which is becoming very, very important in its own right, and a significant force in increasing a sense of trust and understanding and working together in security within Europe.

With regard to the flank issue you mentioned, we have not worked out all the details of that. We've agreed to continue working on it. The problem is, of course, that the treaty becomes effective at a certain date. Its terms were negotiated in a previous time. Then there is a lag time for modifications of the treaty. We believe some modifications

are in order. We are supporting the Russian position there. What we want to do is to figure out a way for us to preserve the integrity of the treaty and compliance with it, but, in the end respond to the legitimate security interests of Russia. And I believe we can get there.

### ***Russian Nuclear Cooperation With Iran***

**Q.** Mr. President, you made clear in advance on the Iran nuclear deal that you wouldn't be satisfied with anything short of an outright cancellation of that sale. Today you said that it's going to be referred to a lower level, that you weren't able to solve this question. I want to know, are there any repercussions? Are you disappointed that you weren't able to get this sale closed? And will you resist Republican threats to cut off foreign aid to Russia?

**President Clinton.** Well, first of all, this sale was in the pipeline, announced, and is legal under international law. I believe it is unwise. I think it should not go forward. We actually got more done today than I thought we would do, and we are ahead of where I thought we would be.

As I said, President Yeltsin made it clear to me that even though it would be some financial sacrifice to Russia, he did not believe they should proceed with the centrifuge and the related portions of the sale that could have a much more direct and immediate impact on weapons production. I gave him some of our intelligence and made the best arguments I could about why I thought the whole sale should not go forward. And we agreed that since some of this involves an evaluation of technical matters, it would be appropriate to refer to the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission where we have gotten a lot of useful work done between our two countries. So we are actually further down the road on that issue than I thought we would be.

Now, with response to the particular arguments about the cutoff of aid, I think what we should do is to look at the progress we have made today, look at the progress we have made in the last 2 years, ask ourselves whether the United States is safer and more secure as a result of these efforts. I think the answer is yes. We should keep working.

We should treat this like a business relationship that is furthering the security of both countries, and we should do whatever is in our interest. And I believe that the programs that we presently have underway are clearly in our interest.

**President Yeltsin.** I would like to add to what President Bill Clinton just said. The point is that the contract was concluded legitimately and in accordance with international law, and no international treaties were violated in the process. But it is true that the contract do contain components of peaceful and military nuclear energy. Now we have agreed to separate those two.

Inasmuch as they relate to the military component and the possibility, the potential for creating weapons-grade fuel and other matters, the centrifuge, the construction of silos, and so on—we have decided to exclude those aspects from the contract, so the military component falls away, and what remains is just a peaceful nuclear power station on light water reactors, which is designed to provide heat and energy.

Any more questions?

Please, colleagues, it's our task.

**Q.** Boris Nikolayevich, could you clarify, if possible, the mechanism for decisionmaking regarding the Iranian contract? According to President Clinton, the materials will be referred to the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission, who will then decide? Will they report to the heads of state, or will some other mechanism be worked out?

**President Yeltsin.** After this question has been comprehensively considered by the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission, we, the two Presidents, will receive all the material and we will make the final decision.

### **Chechnya**

**Q.** [*Inaudible*]*—*seem ironical to you that you have just celebrated the end of World War II and the killing goes on in Chechnya? And it really has appalled the world, the killing of civilians. So what are you going to do about it, and how can you stop it?

**President Yeltsin.** Well, first, there are now hostilities underway in Chechnya right now. Therefore, that is—there is no irony to there. Furthermore, the armed forces are not involved there. Today, the Ministry of the

Interior simply seizes the weapons, which are still in possession of some small, armed criminal gangs. But most importantly, we are doing some creative work there. We are rehabilitating buildings, utilities, trade, we ensure the necessary financing.

The Chechen government has been set up, and it is headed by a Chechen, and it operates in accordance with the Russian Constitution. The dates for parliamentary elections are now being discussed. Therefore, creative work is being done, and I believe that soon we will have a normal situation there, and a situation of a democratic republic, with all the ensuing rights for the citizens living in Chechnya.

### **Terrorism**

**Q.** [*Inaudible*]*—*radio station. I have the following question: The people are very impressed with incidents of brutal terrorism. Boris Nikolayevich, you said that you discussed this and you agreed on some common actions. Could you elaborate on that? And I would be grateful if both Presidents could at least briefly address this question.

**President Yeltsin.** Well, first we convinced each other that without joint efforts, we will not be able to cope with this evil in the world. What we really need is joint efforts—joint efforts, not talk, not conferences, not meetings but actions. And as regards actions, of course we did not discuss the matter specifically, but we have instructed our governments to work out those actions and to proceed without delay to taking those actions.

**President Clinton.** He asked for an answer, I'd like—we talked; we did not agree on a number of specific actions, but we discussed some. And I think it might be helpful.

First of all, President Yeltsin and I and the leaders of many other countries in the world are quite concerned that the great security threat of the 21st century might not be all those we had been discussing, either explicitly or by implication here in the last few moments. They instead might be coming from often nongovernmental sources in terms of terrorism and organized crime and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, getting into the hands of terrorists and organized criminals. So we discussed how we

could cooperate more with law enforcement and intelligence. I think you know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is opening an office here in Moscow, and we have been working with Russia for sometime now.

We discussed how we could make sure we each were as technologically advanced as possible, because many of the adversaries we face are very advanced. And we discussed how we might work together to try to limit the destructive capacity of terrorists and organized criminals and limit their ability to proliferate the weapons, particularly in the biological and chemical area. It's a great concern to me, and both Russia and the United States probably have some resources there that we can bring to bear.

And I think in light of what happened in Japan, all advanced countries should be very, very concerned about the prospect of the merger of terrorism with weapons of mass destruction, biological, chemical, and small-scale nuclear weapons.

### **Chechnya**

**Q.** President Clinton, you've just heard President Yeltsin describe the situation in Chechnya in a way that may be at odds with news dispatches coming from the part of the country describing a massacre. And I wondered if—what your reaction is to his description, whether you accept it, if not why not, and what impact these reports of terrible things there may be having on the countries eager to join NATO, and what you would have to say to him about that?

**President Clinton.** Well, I will say to you what I said to him personally already, and I think what he knows and Chancellor Kohl and other friends of Russia have said: The civilian casualties and the prolongation of the fighting have troubled the rest of the world greatly and have had an impact in Europe on the attitudes of many countries about what is going on here and about future relationships. I don't think anyone is unaware of that.

What I have urged President Yeltsin to do is to try to make a permanent ceasefire, to try to move rapidly with the cooperation of the OSCE to get a democratic government there and to bring this to a speedy resolution, because I do believe it is something that is

very troubling to the world, particularly in the dimensions of civilian casualties.

And I'm sure all the American journalists here know that we have a missing relief worker there ourselves. And I asked the President to help me find whatever could be found about Mr. Cuny, and he said that he would direct the Russian authorities there to try to help us. But this is a troubling thing for the world, and it's been a difficult thing for them as well.

**President Yeltsin.** Looking at my watch, shall we agree, Mr. McCurry, just one question on each side?

### **Group of Seven Nations**

**Q.** Boris Nikolayevich, we will have a meeting at Halifax with the eight. Do you intend to improve on the results of the similar meeting in Naples? Did you discuss anything like that this time with Bill Clinton? Did you agree that Bill Clinton will help you somewhere in some of Russia's aspirations?

And the question for the U.S. President—this is also a question from Ukraine—what are you bringing to Ukraine?

**President Yeltsin.** [*Inaudible*—I met during these celebration days, of course, with everybody we discussed Halifax. I and Russia are, of course, concerned about our role in the G-7 or in the G-8. That is why this morning, at 9 a.m., I had a meeting with the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Chrétien, who will act as cochairman. We discussed the U.N. views—we discussed his views on the problem. I discussed this with Bill Clinton, with Helmut Kohl, with François Mitterrand.

Well, generally speaking, everybody is optimistic on this subject, and they wish to support Russia. To give you an example, Mr. Chrétien this morning said that Russia in Halifax will have three times more opportunities than last year in Naples. Well, that's not bad. The minimum we count on is as follows: The political aid, we believe, has now asserted itself; it is a fact of life; we are part of the political eight.

Now about economic matters. At Halifax, first they will address the economic matters of the G-7 and then they will address international matters pertinent to the whole world. As regards their internal business, well, we have no claims to that. They discuss

specific issues and important issues related to trade and other economic matters. But as regards global strategic matters of importance to the entire world, Russia should participate in such discussions fully. So I think we can call this seven and a half.

**President Clinton.** [*Inaudible*—specific questions. The United States, since I have been President, has supported two major aid packages to Russia to support the conversion to a market economy and to try to assist in developing all of the institutions necessary to make that successful, as well as to support our denuclearization efforts under the so-called Nunn-Lugar funds.

We were also very strongly supportive of the recent \$6.8 billion standby loan that the International Monetary Fund granted to Russia as a result of the economic reforms initiated under President Yeltsin. So I think that your country has a great deal to be proud of in the economic progress that has been made.

I know you still are dealing with a lot of economic difficulties; all market economies do. And the markets don't solve all problems. So you have to work on trying to deal with those. But I believe that our partnership has been a good investment for the United States because we have a stronger, more democratic, more open, more free Russia, and we will continue to support that direction.

With Ukraine, I must say, they've made a remarkable amount of progress in the last year or so, and I think President Yeltsin feels the same way. I am encouraged by the balance and discipline coming out of the government in Ukraine, and I will continue to support the process of reform there.

### ***Russian Nuclear Cooperation With Iran***

**Q.** President Yeltsin, several U.S. officials, including the Secretary of State, have suggested that if you go along with the sale of the nuclear reactors to Iran, this would endanger Russia's becoming a full member of the G-7 and other international institutions. And several Republican leaders in the U.S. Congress have warned that if you go ahead with this sale, it would endanger continued U.S. assistance to Russia. Are these kinds of threats persuasive, or was the intelligence information that President Clinton showed you

today of Iran's nuclear ambitions, was that the convincing element to you? Or are you still basically at a disagreement with the United States over Iran's nuclear ambitions?

**President Yeltsin.** We're not afraid of threats. We never react to threats. But as for your question, we have already told you with the President, that technically we need to sort the question out. We need to sort out what relates to peaceful and to military purposes. And this has been entrusted to the Gore-Chernomyrdin commission. Once we get to signatures—once we get a document signed by two, we the Presidents will make the final decision.

**President Clinton.** This may be a fitting question to close this press conference.

I think it is important that the people of the United States and the people of Russia understand that from time to time, as with any sort of relationship, there will be differences of opinion. Occasionally, there will even be occasions where our interests are different. What we have been working on for over 2 years now are areas where our interests are not different, working through areas where our opinions might be.

Now in the case of this Iranian matter, just to take one example. If the United States is right and Iran is attempting to develop the capacity to build nuclear weapons, that would be more of an immediate security threat to Russia than to the United States, because you are closer to the country.

So we don't really have different interests here. Both our countries are committed to the fight against terrorism. Both our countries are committed to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and its indefinite extension. Both our countries are dismantling our own nuclear arsenals at a more rapid rate than our treaties require.

Now, in playing this relationship out, there will come times when there will be differences. If we ultimately differ on something, I think that we all know there may be consequences to having different positions and different actions. But I think we should be quite careful in using the language of threats in a relationship that in the last 2 years has made the world a much safer place. We have seen Russia's democracy strengthened. We have seen Russia's transi-



tion toward a private economy go more rapidly than all experts predicted. We have seen discipline asserted in this economy to a greater degree than most experts predicted. And we have seen more progress on thorny difficulties, complex matters, than most experts predicted.

As a result, the people of the United States, the people of Russia, and the people of the world are safer today than they were 2 years ago and than they were before this last meeting between us occurred. That is the fundamental story. We will have differences. They will have consequences. But we should stay away from big words like threats when we're managing matters which can be managed in a relationship that is quite good for the world and that has made us all safer.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's 95th news conference began at 2:40 p.m. in the Press Conference Hall in the Kremlin. In his remarks, President Clinton referred to Frederick Cuny, an American relief worker in Chechnya who disappeared in April. President Yeltsin spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A portion of the news conference could not be verified because the tape was incomplete.

### **Russia-United States Joint Statement on Missile Systems** *May 10, 1995*

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation, taking into account the threat posed by worldwide proliferation of missiles and missile technology and the necessity of counteracting this threat, agreed on the following basic principles to serve as a basis for further discussions in order to reach agreement in the field of demarcation between ABM systems and theater missile defense systems.

The United States and Russia are each committed to the ABM Treaty, a cornerstone of strategic stability.

Both sides must have the option to establish and to deploy effective theater missile defense systems. Such activity must not lead

to violation or circumvention of the ABM Treaty.

Theater missile defense systems may be deployed by each side which (1) will not pose a realistic threat to the strategic nuclear force of the other side and (2) will not be tested to give such systems that capability.

Theater missile defense systems will not be deployed by the sides for use against each other.

The scale of deployment—in number and geographic scope—of theater missile defense systems by either side will be consistent with theater ballistic missile programs confronting that side.

In the spirit of partnership, the Presidents undertook to promote reciprocal openness in activities of the sides in theater missile defense systems and in the exchange of corresponding information.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

### **Joint Statement on European Security** *May 10, 1995*

Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin conducted a thorough review of progress toward their shared goal of a stable, secure, integrated and undivided democratic Europe. They agreed that the end of military confrontation, ideological conflict, and division of the Euro-Atlantic region into opposing blocs has created an historic opportunity for all of its peoples. They emphasized their determination to cooperate closely to ensure that in the future, all peoples of the Euro-Atlantic region shall enjoy the benefits of a stable, just and peaceful order.

The Presidents note that the task of strengthening Euro-Atlantic security now requires dealing with challenges very different from those of the Cold War era. Aggressive nationalism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, unresolved territorial disputes, and violations in the area of human rights present serious threats to stability, peace and prosperity. The Presidents agree that the effort to deal with these challenges must be based on respect for the principles and commitments of the OSCE, particularly concern-

ing democracy, political pluralism, respect for human rights and civil liberties, free market economies and strict respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and self-determination.

The Presidents reviewed prospects for Euro-Atlantic structures in response to the opportunities and challenges posed by the new era. They agreed that the central element of a lasting peace must be the integration of all of Europe into a series of mutually supporting institutions and relationships which ensure that there will be no return to division or confrontation. The evolution of European structures should be directed toward the overall goal of integration. President Clinton stressed that the process should be transparent, inclusive and based on an integral relationship between the security of Europe and that of North America.

The Presidents note the historic task of working closely together toward fuller participation of democratic Russia and the United States of America in the range of worldwide political, economic, and security institutions of the 21st Century. It was in this spirit that the two Presidents reviewed steps in the evolution of the Euro-Atlantic security system through the further development of relevant organizations and bilateral and regional cooperation. This includes the decision of Russia to proceed with its individual Partnership Program for the Partnership for Peace and with the document on a broad, enhanced Russia-NATO dialogue and cooperation.

President Clinton supported Russia's efforts to develop further its partnership and cooperation with the EU. He stressed U.S. support for Russia's participation in the WTO, GATT and other institutions important to European and global economic and security architecture, as appropriate.

The Presidents agree that the OSCE's commitments in the areas of human rights, economics, and security provide a foundation for their effort to build a stable and integrated Europe. In this regard, special attention should be devoted to strengthening the peacekeeping capabilities of the OSCE and to its potential in the sphere of preventive diplomacy and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Presidents recalled the decision of the December 1994 OSCE Summit in Budapest to develop a model for ensuring comprehensive security for Europe in the 21st Century. The United States and Russia believe that such a model should aim to build an undivided Europe, a common space of security and stability, and a system that ensures the widest cooperation and coordination among all countries of the Euro-Atlantic region. In this system, all states will have, as stated in Budapest, the inherent right of all states freely to choose or change their security arrangements, including treaties of alliance, as they evolve.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

### **Joint Statement on Nonproliferation** *May 10, 1995*

The President of the United States of America, William J. Clinton, and the President of the Russian Federation, B.N. Yeltsin, at their meeting in Moscow May 9–10, 1995, expressed the strong view that the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) Review and Extension Conference underway in New York should decide to make the Treaty permanent. The two leaders pledged that the United States and Russia will continue to work to ensure the full implementation of the Treaty. In particular, they reaffirmed the commitments by the United States of America and the Russian Federation, under Article VI of the NPT, to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear disarmament, which remains their ultimate goal.

The two Presidents also reaffirmed that the United States and the Russian Federation will continue to work together closely to promote broad nonproliferation goals. They agreed that, in the newly-established bilateral working group on nonproliferation, the two sides would consult in a timely manner on issues of mutual concern, including how best to fulfill their responsibility to cooperate with other NPT parties in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, while at the same time fulfilling their responsibility to avoid risks of proliferation. The leaders recognized

the importance of a responsible approach to the transfer of nuclear-related material, equipment, and technology and to nuclear-related training. In this connection, they reaffirmed their commitments to the NPT and to the Nuclear Suppliers Group Guidelines, and in particular to the principles that nuclear transfers should take place only under full-scope International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and only when a supplier is satisfied that such transfers to any non-nuclear weapon state would not contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The leaders directed the working group on nonproliferation to prepare assessments of proliferation threats in various regions of the world, to consider practical means of addressing those threats, to assess evidence regarding possible noncompliance with nonproliferation commitments, and to report to them periodically on its progress.

The two Presidents strongly supported the concrete progress recently made in their two countries' cooperation in ensuring the security of nuclear weapons and nuclear materials that can be used in such weapons. They reiterated their call for broad and expanded cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis, consistent with their international obligations, to strengthen national and international regimes of control, accounting, and physical protection of nuclear materials, and to prevent illegal traffic in nuclear materials. They directed all relevant agencies and organizations in their respective countries to facilitate in a coordinated manner, effective cooperation to this end.

They directed that the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission prepare a joint report on steps that have been accomplished and additional steps that should be taken to ensure the security of nuclear materials.

The leaders reaffirmed their strong support for the IAEA and reiterated their view that its safeguards program plays a fundamental role in the global nuclear nonproliferation regime. They stressed the importance of enhancing the IAEA's ability to detect diversions of nuclear material and to provide increased assurance of the absence of undeclared nuclear activities, in particular through the effort currently underway to

strengthen the effectiveness and improve the efficiency of the safeguards system.

The Presidents agreed that the formal participation of the Russian Federation in the multilateral nonproliferation export control regimes would significantly strengthen those regimes as well as broaden the basis for cooperation between the two countries on nonproliferation. They agreed to direct officials in their respective governments to address expeditiously the issues affecting Russian membership in the various regimes, with a view to ensuring active U.S. support for Russian admission to each of the regimes at the earliest possible date.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

### **Joint Statement on Economic Reform, Trade, and Investment**

*May 10, 1995*

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation welcomed the significant progress made in Russian economic reforms and bilateral trade and investment since their last meeting in Washington in September 1994. They underlined their support for full and early realization of the bilateral economic partnership described in their September 1994 Washington Summit Joint Statement on "Partnership for Economic Progress."

#### **Economic Reform**

The President of the Russian Federation reaffirmed Russia's determination to implement firmly its 1995 economic reform program, including reduction of government deficits and other anti-inflationary measures, privatization, comprehensive tax reform, strengthening of the free market and integration into the world economy. The President of the United States of America welcomed these policies and pledged continued strong U.S. support for their complete implementation.

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation commended the deepening interaction between Russia and the leading indus-

trial countries and the formation of the "Political-8," and expressed their hope for fruitful cooperation during the forthcoming Halifax Summit in June 1995.

### **Trade**

The President of the United States of America expressed strong U.S. support for Russian accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO), and both Presidents agreed to cooperate on accomplishing this objective.

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation welcomed the doubling of bilateral trade between 1992 and 1994 to a level of \$5.8 billion. They pledged that as trade continues to expand both countries would work together to resolve trade frictions when arise in a mature trade relationship. They also agreed that bilateral trade and foreign and domestic investment would benefit from stricter enforcement of intellectual property rights and they agreed that both governments would engage in broader cooperation in this area. The President of the United States of America reiterated his government's recognition that Russia is an economy in transition to a free market.

### **Investment**

The President of the Russian Federation informed the President of the United States of America that his government has issued a decree permitting full implementation of the Oil and Gas Framework Agreement, under which the U.S. Export-Import Bank can proceed with \$1.3 billion in approved loans and authorize \$700 million in requested loans for the important oil and gas sector. The two Presidents also undertook to accelerate implementation of the \$750 million Eximbank-Gazprom financing facility.

The President of the Russian Federation noted the importance of the IL-96M project to civil aviation cooperation between the two countries and the President of the United States of America confirmed that the U.S. Export-Import Bank is reviewing a financing application for this project.

The two Presidents welcomed progress made in negotiations between American and Russian companies on production sharing agreements and look forward to the signing

of these agreements within the next few months, as well as the passage of the Law on Production Sharing and the ratification of the Bilateral Investment Treaty.

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation welcomed the commitments of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation of over \$2 billion in loan guarantees, insurance and investment funds, and of the U.S. Trade and Development Agency of over \$35 million for feasibility studies on 87 separate projects in the Russian Federation. They looked forward to the opening in Moscow in June of a new Russian Business Information Service for trade with America, with assistance from the U.S. Government.

### **Future Mandate**

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation commended the achievements of the Joint Commission for Technological and Economic Cooperation (the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission) and, stressing their commitment to a strategic economic partnership, requested recommendations from the Joint Commission on further moves to strengthen and expand bilateral trade and investment and market access, and cooperation in the areas of energy, space, science and technology, health and agriculture and conversion of defense production facilities.

Noting the importance of regional development, the two Presidents announced the inaugural meeting in Seattle this June of the working group between the private and public sector leaders of the Russian Far East and the U.S. west coast, based on the initiative of the President of the Russian Federation in Seattle in September 1994.

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation noted that a strong basis for economic, commercial and technological cooperation between the two countries has been created, which is aimed at supporting the transformation of the Russian economy and Russia's full integration into the world economy. The two Presidents expressed strong support for these historic goals.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

**Joint Statement on the Transparency and Irreversibility of the Process of Reducing Nuclear Weapons**

*May 10, 1995*

The President of the United States of America and the President of the Russian Federation,

After examining the exchange of views which took place during the December 1994 meeting of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission in regard to the aggregate stockpiles of nuclear warheads, stocks of fissile materials, and their safety and security, as well as a discussion of the Joint Working Group on Nuclear Safeguards, Transparency and Irreversibility of further measures to improve confidence in and increase the transparency and irreversibility of the process of reducing nuclear weapons,

Reaffirm the commitment of the United States of America and the Russian Federation to the goal of nuclear disarmament and their desire to pursue further measures to improve confidence in and increase the transparency and irreversibility of the process of nuclear arms reduction, as they agreed in January and September 1994;

Reaffirm the desire of the United States of America and the Russian Federation to exchange detailed information on aggregate stockpiles of nuclear warheads, on stocks of fissile materials and on their safety and security and to develop a process for exchange of this information on a regular basis; and

Express the desire of the United States of America and the Russian Federation to establish as soon as possible concrete arrangements for enhancing transparency and irreversibility of the process of nuclear arms reduction.

Taking into account the proposal by President B.N. Yeltsin for a treaty on nuclear safety and strategic stability among the five nuclear powers, they declare that:

- Fissile materials removed from nuclear weapons being eliminated and excess to national security requirements will not be used to manufacture nuclear weapons;
- No newly produced fissile materials will be used in nuclear weapons; and

- Fissile materials from or within civil nuclear programs will not be used to manufacture nuclear weapons.

The United States of America and the Russian Federation will negotiate agreements to increase the transparency and irreversibility of nuclear arms reduction that, *inter alia*, establish:

- An exchange on a regular basis of detailed information on aggregate stockpiles of nuclear warheads, on stocks of fissile materials and on their safety and security;
- A cooperative arrangements for reciprocal monitoring at storage facilities of fissile materials removed from nuclear warheads and declared to be excess to national security requirements to help confirm the irreversibility of the process of reducing nuclear weapons, recognizing that progress in this area is linked to progress in implementing the joint U.S.-Russian program for the fissile material storage facility at Mayak; and
- Other cooperative measures, as necessary to enhance confidence in the reciprocal declarations of fissile material stockpiles.

The United States of America and the Russian Federation will strive to conclude as soon as possible agreements which are based on these principles.

The United States of America and the Russian Federation will also examine and seek to define further measures to increase the transparency and irreversibility of the process of reducing nuclear weapons, including intergovernmental arrangements to extend cooperation to further phases of the process of eliminating nuclear weapons declared excess to national security requirements as a result of nuclear arms reduction.

The Presidents urged progress in implementing current agreements affecting the irreversibility of the process of reducing nuclear weapons such as the June 23, 1994, agreement concerning the shutdown of plutonium production reactors and the cessation of use of newly produced plutonium for nuclear weapons, in all its interrelated provisions, including, *inter alia*, cooperation in creation of alternative energy sources, shutdown of plutonium production reactors men-

tioned above, and development of respective compliance procedures.

The United States of America and the Russian Federation will seek to conclude in the shortest possible time an agreement for cooperation between their governments enabling the exchange of information as necessary to implement the arrangements called for above, by providing for the protection of that information. No information will be exchanged until the respective arrangements enter into force.

NOTE: An original was not available for verification of the content of this joint statement.

### **Remarks to Students at Moscow State University**

*May 10, 1995*

Thank you very much, Rector Sadovnichy, Mrs. Sadovnichy. To the faculty, and most of all, to the students of Moscow State University, I am deeply honored to be here and to be here just a few years after my predecessor President Reagan also spoke to the students.

I can think of no better place than a great seat of learning like Moscow State University to speak about the past and future of Russia. In this spirit, Mikhail Lomonosov lives on, for just as he modernized your ancient language for the Russian people two centuries ago, today you must take the lead in shaping a new language, a language of democracy that will help all Russia to chart a new course for your ancient land.

Here you openly debate the pressing issues of the day. And though you can only hear echoes of your nation's history, you are living it and making it as you ponder and prepare for what is yet to come.

Yesterday all of Russia and much of the entire world paused to remember the end of World War II and the terrible, almost unimaginable price the peoples of the Soviet Union paid for survival and for victory. Because our alliance with you was shattered at the war's end by the onset of the cold war, Americans never fully appreciated, until yesterday, the true extent of your sacrifice and its contribution to our common victory. And the Russian people were denied the full

promise of that victory in World War II, a victory that bought the West five decades of freedom and prosperity.

Now the cold war is over. Democracy has triumphed through decades of Western resolve, but that victory was also yours, through the determination of the peoples of Russia, the other former Soviet republics, and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to be free and to move into the 21st century as a part of, not apart from, the global movement toward greater democracy, prosperity, and common security.

Your decision for democracy and cooperation has given us the opportunity to work together to fulfill the promise of our common victory over forces of fascism 50 years ago. I know that it was not an easy decision to make and that it is not always an easy decision to stay with. I know that you in Russia will have to chart your own democratic course based on your own traditions and culture, as well as on the common challenges we face.

We Americans have now spent over 200 years setting our own course. Along the way we have endured deep divisions and one Civil War. We have made mistakes at home and in our relations with other people. At times we have fallen short of our own ideals. Our system can sometimes seem unnecessarily burdened by divisions and constraint. But as Winston Churchill once said, "Democracy is the worst system of government, except for all the others." It has produced more prosperity, more security, and more opportunity for self-fulfillment than all of its competitors in the entire world in the last 200 years.

The United States supports the forces of democracy and reform here in Russia because it is in our national interest to do so. I have worked hard to make this post-cold-war world a safer and more hopeful place for the American people. As President, that is my job. That is every President's job. But I have had the opportunity, unlike my recent predecessors, to work with Russia instead of being in opposition to Russia. And I want to keep it that way.

I am proud that for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, no Russian missiles are pointed at the children of America.

And now that I am here, I might paraphrase what your Foreign Minister told me in Washington last month: I am also proud that no American missiles are pointed at you or me for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age.

Both our nations are destroying thousands of nuclear weapons at a faster rate than our treaties require. We have removed the last nuclear weapons from Kazakhstan. And Ukraine and Belarus will soon follow. We are cooperating with you to prevent nuclear weapons and bomb-making materials from falling into the hands of terrorists and smugglers. We are working together to extend indefinitely the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, the cornerstone of our efforts to stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

Your progress on the economic front is also important. I have seen reports that more than 60 percent of your economy is now in private hands. Inflation is dropping, and your government is taking sensible steps to control its budget deficit. Managers work to satisfy customers and to make profits. Employees, more and more, search for the best jobs at the highest wages. And every day, despite hardship and uncertainty, more and more Russian people are able to make decisions in free markets rather than having their choices dictated to them.

We have supported these reforms. They are good for you, but they are also good for the United States and for the rest of the world, for they bring us together and move us forward.

I know there are severe problems. There are severe problems in your transition to a market economy. I know, too, that in anywhere free markets exist, they do not solve all social problems. They require policies that can ensure economic fairness and basic human decency to those who need and deserve help.

Finally, I know that all democracies, the United States included, face new challenges from the emergency of the global economy and the information age, as well as from the threats posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, by organized crime, and by terrorism. But the answer is not to back away from democracy or to go back to isolation. The answer is not to go back to defining

your national interest in terms that make others less secure. The answer is to stay on this course, to reap the full benefits of democracy, and to work on these problems with those of us who have a stake in your success, because your success makes us safer and more prosperous as well.

That success, I believe, depends upon three things: first, continuing to strengthen your democracy; second, improving your economy and reducing social and economic problems; and third, establishing your role in the world in a way that enhances your economic and national security interests, not at the expense of your friends and neighbors but in cooperation with them.

First, the work of building democracy never ends. The democratic system can never be perfected, because human beings are not perfect. In America today, we are engaged in a renewed debate over which decisions should be made by our National Government and which ones should be made locally or by private citizens on their own, unimpeded by Government. We argue today over the proper roles of the different branches of Government, and we argue over how we can be strengthened, not weakened, by the great diversity in our society. These are enduring challenges that all democracies face.

But no element among them is more fundamental than the holding of free elections. In our meetings today, President Yeltsin once again pledged to keep on schedule both a new round of parliamentary elections in December and the Presidential election next June. He has shown that he understands what has often been said about a new democracy: The second elections are even more important than the first, for the second elections establish a pattern of peaceful transition of power.

Therefore, I urge all Russians who have the right to vote to exercise that vote this year and next year. Many people sacrificed so that you could have this power. I address that plea especially to the young people in this room and throughout your great nation. Your future is fully before you. And these elections will shape that future. Do not fall into the trap that I hear even in my own country of believing that your vote does not count. It does count. It will count if you cast

it. And if you do not cast it, that will count for something, too. So I urge you to exercise the vote.

But the heart of a democracy does not lie in the ballot box alone. That is why it is also important that your generation continue to demand and support a free and independent press. Again, this can be a difficult, even dangerous process, as the people in your press know all too well. Dmitriy Kholodov and Vladislav Listyev were murdered in pursuit of the truth, victims of their vigorous belief in the public's right to know. You must not allow those assassins who targeted them to steal from your people one of the essential freedoms of democracy, the freedom of the press.

There is another challenge, a challenge of building tolerance, for tolerance, too, lies at the heart of any democracy. Few nations on Earth can rival Russia's vast human and natural resources or her diversity. Within your borders live more than 100 different ethnic groups. Scores of literary, cultural, and artistic traditions thrive among your people. And in the last few years, millions have returned to their faiths, seeking refuge in their stability and finding hope in their teachings. These are vital signs of democracy taking root.

Given your nation's great diversity, it would have been easy along this path to surrender to the cries of extremists who in the name of patriotism have tried to rally support by stirring up fear among different peoples. But you have embraced, instead, the cause of tolerance. The vast majority of Russians have rejected those poisonous arguments and bolstered your young, fragile democracy.

When Americans and others in the West look back on the events of the last 4 years, we are struck by the remarkably peaceful nature of your revolutionary transition. Your accomplishment to go through a massive social and political upheaval and the breakup of an empire with so little brutality and bloodshed has few precedents in history. Your restraint was a critical factor in paving the way for Russia to take its place in the global community, a modern state at peace with itself and its neighbors.

Now, it is against this backdrop, this great achievement, that we Americans have viewed the tragedy in Chechnya. As I told President

Yeltsin earlier today, this terrible tragedy must be brought to a rapid and peaceful conclusion. Continued fighting in that region can only spill more blood and further erode support for Russia among her neighbors around the world.

Holding free elections, ensuring a free and independent press, promoting tolerance of diversity, these are some of the difficult tasks of building a democracy. They are all important.

But these efforts also depend upon your economic reforms. Your efforts on the political front will benefit from efforts on the economic front that generate prosperity and give people a greater stake in a democratic future.

To too many people in this country, I know that economic reform has come to mean hardship, uncertainty, crime, and corruption. Profitable enterprises once owned by the state have been moved into private hands, sometimes under allegedly questionable circumstances. The demands of extortionists have stopped some would-be entrepreneurs from even going into business. And when the heavy hand of totalitarianism was lifted from your society, many structures necessary for a free market to take shape were not there, and organized crime was able to move into the vacuum.

These are real and urgent concerns. They demand an all-out battle to create a market based on law, not lawlessness, a market that rewards merit, not malice. Economic reform must not be an excuse for the privileged and the strong to prey upon the weak.

To help your government break the power of those criminals, our Federal Bureau of Investigation has opened an office here in Moscow. And we are cooperating with your government's attempts to strengthen the integrity of your markets.

Pressures in the market economy are also leaving some people behind, people whose needs are not being met and who are not able to compete and win, while some of the richest are said to pay no taxes at all. Those Russians who lose their jobs or who live in poverty deserve an economic and social safety net that is strong enough to break their fall and keep them going until they can get back on their feet.



Finally, market economies require discipline. Cutting inflation helps families struggling to become members of the new Russian middle class so they need not fear the future. Continuing your country's recent record of more realistic budgets is vital to achieving long-term economic stability. I say this from experience. From the beginning of my administration I have pursued these goals, because even though they require some sacrifice in the short term, they promise lasting economic growth that will benefit all of our people and yours as well.

The transition to a more honest and open market economy requires time. New problems will appear as your economy gains ground. But in the midst of the pain, I would urge you also to see the promise. Countries that were in economic ruin at the end of World War II today rank among the world's most dynamic nations because they have made a market economy and democracy work.

Finally, Russia's success at political and economic reform at home requires an approach to the world that reinforces your progress and enhances your security. Russia and the United States must work together in this regard. We must work for our common security. More than anything else, that is what my meeting with President Yeltsin today was all about, and we made progress in many areas. I would like to report them to you.

First, Russia agreed to implement its Partnership For Peace with NATO. And I agreed now to press NATO to begin talks on a special relationship with Russia.

The United States has made it clear that we favor a strong continuing NATO, that any admission of new members be based on the principles we have articulated along with our partners. It must be gradual and deliberate and open and consistent with the security interests of all of our partners for peace, including Russia.

My goal since I became President has been to use the fact that the cold war is over to unify Europe for the first time in its history. And that is what we must all be working for. President Yeltsin's decision to join the Partnership For Peace will support that move toward security and unity.

Second, the United States strongly believes that there should be no future nuclear cooperation with Iran. We believe that is in Russia's interest. Today President Yeltsin said that Russia would not sell enrichment technology or training to Iran because that could clearly be used to develop a nuclear capacity. And that should be more important to you than to us because you are closer to Iran than we are. I gave President Yeltsin some intelligence that the United States Government has that we believe supports the proposition that no nuclear cooperation in the future, not even the light water reactors, should proceed. And the two of us agreed to ask the special commission headed by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and Vice President Gore to look into this matter further.

On the outstanding issues of arms sales to Iran, we reached agreement with Russia which will now permit Russia, your country, to be one of the founding members of the so-called post-COCOM regime, an agreement among nations to limit the sales of all dangerous weapons around the world in ways that will increase your security and ours.

Next, we agreed to immediately work to see if we could get our respective parliamentary bodies to ratify the START II treaty this year so that we could continue to reduce our nuclear arsenals and, after START II is ratified, to consider further reductions in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and Russia to make your future safer. We also agreed to a statement of principles on one of the most difficult issues in our security relationship, how we define so-called theater missile defenses in the context of our Antibalistic Missile Treaty—designed, again, to make us both safer.

Next, we agreed to begin visits to our biological weapons installations this August as part of our continued commitment to reduce the threat of biological and chemical weapons proliferation throughout the world. And if you consider what recently happened, the terrible incident in the subway in Japan, our future security and your future security is threatened not only by nuclear weapons but by the potential of biological and chemical weapons falling into the wrong hands as well.

And finally, in the wake of all those incidents, the problems in Russia with organized crime and the awful tragedy that we had in our country in Oklahoma City, the United States and Russia agreed that we must work much harder in sharing information, sharing technology, sharing research in the areas of combating terrorism and organized crime.

This meeting was a success because every one of those decisions will give you and your counterparts in the United States a safer future. And we need to do more of this kind of work together.

As we close the door on this 20th century, the bloodiest century in the history of the world, I am convinced that the next century and your most productive years will be the most exciting time, the time most full of possibility in all history. The global economy, the explosion of information, the incredible advances in technology, the ability of people to move rapidly across large spaces, all of these trends are bringing us into a more integrated world. But we must all realize that these forces of integration have a dark underside.

In the 21st century, we will face new and different security threats. In the 21st century, I predict to you, there will be no world war to write about between nations fighting over territory. I predict to you that there will not be a new great colossus killing tens of millions of its own citizens to maintain control. I believe the battles of the 21st century will be against the organized forces of destruction that can cross national lines or threaten us from within our borders. We see these forces in the bombing of the World Trade Center, in the terrible tragedy in Oklahoma City, in the United States. We see it in the bombings on the streets in Israel, designed to kill the peace process in the Middle East. We see it in that terrible gas attack in the Tokyo subway. We see it in the problems that you and so many other nations have with organized crime.

The more open and flexible our societies are, the more our people are able to move freely without restraint, the greater we are exposed to those kinds of threats. And so we must become more and more vigilant. We must work together to defeat these new security threats, for in this new century, the world

wants and needs strong democratic countries where people are truly free and secure. And this world needs a strong and democratic Russia to help meet these challenges.

It is in that context that I have pledged to President Yeltsin we will continue to work on all the issues between us. And it is in that context that I urged the President to have no future nuclear cooperation with Iran.

Think about the future that we have together. We have already witnessed what Russia can do on the world stage when it is completely engaged and committed to democracy. From the Near East to as far away as El Salvador, America and the world have been made more secure by Russian leadership and cooperation. As Russia takes her rightful place, we believe that the trends toward democracy and economic freedom and tolerance must and will continue.

Yesterday your nation looked back at 50 years and paid homage to the heroes of World War II. Today let us look ahead 50 years to the next century when your children and your grandchildren will recall those who stood against the coups, who voted in free elections, who claimed their basic human rights and liberties which had been so long denied, those who made Russia a full partner in the global march toward freedom and prosperity and security. They will look back, and they will be grateful.

I know there are some in this country who do not favor this course. And believe me, there are some people in my country who do not believe that you will follow this course. They predict that, instead, you will repeat the patterns of the past. Well, of course the outcome is not assured; nothing in human affairs is certain. But I believe those negative voices are mistaken.

All sensible people understand the enormous challenges you face, but if there is one constant element in your history, it is the strength and resilience of the Russian people. You have survived in this century devastating losses in two World Wars that would have broken weaker spirits. You succeeded in bringing an end to a communist system and to a cold war that had dominated human affairs for decades. You have ushered in a new era of freedom. And you can go the rest of the way.

In the future, your progress may well be measured not by glorious victories but by gradual improvements. And therefore, in your efforts you will need time and patience, two virtues that Leo Tolstoy called the strongest of all warriors.

You must know in this endeavor that you will not be alone, for Russians and Americans share this bond. We both must learn from our past, and we both must find the courage to change to make the future that our children deserve. For the sake of your generation and generations to come, I believe we will all rise to the challenge.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 6:12 p.m. in the Main Hall. In his remarks, he referred to Viktor Antonovich Sadvnichy, rector of the university; Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev of Russia; and journalist Dmitry Kholodov and television personality Vladislav Listyev, who were recently assassinated in Russia. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### **Statement on Trade With Japan**

*May 10, 1995*

For more than 2 years, I have committed my administration to a bipartisan effort to open world markets. I have done this because where markets are open, Americans compete and win, and that means more high-paying U.S. jobs.

Over the past 20 months, my administration has made every effort through negotiations to remove obstacles to Japan's auto and auto parts market. Unfortunately, those negotiations have not produced meaningful results. Today, we announced U.S. action in response to the continued discrimination against U.S. and foreign competitive autos and auto parts in Japan. I want to underscore my strong support for these actions.

At my direction, my administration will finalize a preliminary list of Japanese goods for retaliation. I also have directed Ambassador Kantor to send a pre-filing notification to the Director General of the WTO, indicating our intent to pursue a WTO case against Japan's unfair trading practices in the auto and auto parts sector.

Japan is a valued friend and ally. Our political and strategic relations are strong. Even in trade, we have worked together to promote successes in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC) and the Uruguay round of the GATT. It is in the context of this overall strong relationship that we must directly address our differences.

### **Message to the Congress Transmitting the "Gun-Free School Zones Amendments Act of 1995"**

*May 10, 1995*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Today I am transmitting for your immediate consideration and passage the "Gun-Free School Zones Amendments Act of 1995." This Act will provide the jurisdictional element for the Gun-Free School Zones Act of 1990 required by the Supreme Court's recent decision in *United States v. Lopez*.

In a 5-4 decision, the Court in *Lopez* held that the Congress had exceeded its authority under the Commerce Clause by enacting the Gun-Free School Zones Act of 1990, codified at 18 U.S.C. 922(q). The Court found that this Act did not contain the jurisdictional element that would ensure that the firearms possession in question has the requisite nexus with interstate commerce.

In the wake of that decision, I directed Attorney General Reno to present to me an analysis of *Lopez* and to recommend a legislative solution to the problem identified by that decision. Her legislative recommendation is presented in this proposal.

The legislative proposal would amend the Gun-Free School Zones Act by adding the requirement that the Government prove that the firearm has "moved in or the possession of such firearm otherwise affects interstate or foreign commerce."

The addition of this jurisdictional element would limit the Act's "reach to a discrete set of firearm possessions that additionally have an explicit connection with or effect on interstate commerce," as the Court stated in *Lopez*, and thereby bring it within the Congress' Commerce Clause authority.

The Attorney General reported to me that this proposal would have little, if any, impact

on the ability of prosecutors to charge this offense, for the vast majority of firearms have “moved in . . . commerce” before reaching their eventual possessor.

Furthermore, by also including the possibility of proving the offense by showing that the possession of the firearm “otherwise affects interstate or foreign commerce,” this proposal would leave open the possibility of showing, under the facts of a particular case, that although the firearm itself may not have “moved in . . . interstate or foreign commerce,” its possession nonetheless has a sufficient nexus to commerce.

The Attorney General has advised that this proposal does not require the Government to prove that a defendant had knowledge that the firearm “has moved in or the possession of such firearm otherwise affects interstate or foreign commerce.” The defendant must know only that he or she possesses the firearm.

I am committed to doing everything in my power to make schools places where young people can be secure, where they can learn, and where parents can be confident that discipline is enforced.

I pledge that the Administration will do our part to help make our schools safe and the neighborhoods around them safe. We are prepared to work immediately with the Congress to enact this legislation. I urge the prompt and favorable consideration of this legislative proposal by the Congress.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 10, 1995.

### **Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Opposition Leaders in Moscow**

*May 11, 1995*

**Q.** Good morning, Mr. President.

**The President.** Good morning. How are you?

**Q.** Very good, sir. Does President Yeltsin have any reason to be upset at this meeting you're having this morning?

**The President.** I don't think so. I'm looking forward to this breakfast. I want to have this opportunity mostly just to listen to all

these leaders talk about the conditions here in Russia, what the people are going through. It's an opportunity for me to learn and to reemphasize that I came on this trip because, first, I wanted to express the feelings of the United States on the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and to finally acknowledge the enormous sacrifice of the Russian people and, secondly, because I am trying to increase the security of the people of America and the people of Russia in this partnership. So I'm glad to have a chance to have this meeting.

**Q.** What are you going to tell them?

**The President.** Just what I told you just now. I'm going to listen. I'm going to listen.

**Q.** Do you think you have—you've been emphasizing the security aspect of your trip. Do you think you've succeeded?

**The President.** Yes. We're in better shape than we were before I got here. It was a good trip.

*[At this point, one group of reporters left the room, and another group entered.]*

**Q.** *[Inaudible]*—did you run today, Mr. President? Did you run today?

**The President.** I didn't. I ran yesterday, and I was——

**Q.** What about today?

**The President.** ——in the gym this morning. I ran away from the weather. I worked out in the gymnasium at the hotel. I was weak today. I gave into the weather.

NOTE: The exchange began at 8:45 a.m. at Spaso House. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

### **Remarks on Arrival in Kiev, Ukraine**

*May 11, 1995*

President Kuchma, Mrs. Kuchma, distinguished members of the government: It is a great honor for me and for our party to be in one of Europe's oldest nations and youngest democracies.

This trip, which follows my stopover here in January of 1994 and President Kuchma's trip to Washington last fall, will give us an opportunity to continue the tremendous progress we have made in building strong and productive ties between our countries.

This week in Washington, Moscow, and now Kiev, we celebrated an alliance that turned back the forces of fascism 50 years ago. Our victory was shared. But its cost to the people of the former Soviet Union was unique. On this land alone, more than 5 million Ukrainians lost their lives to the war.

Now, the tremendous will the Ukrainian people brought to the war effort is building a great future for this nation. The United States has an important stake in that future. A secure, stable, and prosperous Ukraine can become a hub of democracy for Central Europe and an important political and economic partner for the United States.

Already, we have seen what such a partnership can accomplish. Ukraine chose to give up nuclear weapons when the former Soviet Union dissolved. Your decision has made the Ukrainian people, the American people, and the entire world much safer and more secure. On behalf of the United States, I want to thank you for that brave and wise decision.

We have also been heartened by the bold steps Ukraine has taken over the past several months to foster free markets. Those were the right steps and the international community has given the right response: large-scale assistance to help Ukraine stay on the path of reform. I want President Kuchma and the Ukrainian people to know that the United States and the West will stay the course with you.

I look forward to discussing the potential for strengthening the economic ties between our two nations. The private sector can be the engine of economic growth for Ukraine. And as prosperity takes hold, 52 million Ukrainians can become major consumers of our goods and services. That will produce more jobs, at better wages, in both our countries.

The United States admires the extraordinary progress Ukraine has made in such a short time. Building democracy and a successful market economy takes time and patience. Ukrainian people are demonstrating an abundance of both, and I am here to reaffirm our country's strong support for your courage and vision.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:25 p.m. in the Mariinsky Palace Courtyard. In his remarks, he referred to President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine and his wife, Lyudmyla Nialayivna Kuchma.

### **Statement on Extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty**

*May 11, 1995*

Today in New York the nations of the world made history. The decision by consensus to extend indefinitely the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty without conditions is a critical step in making the American people—and people throughout the world—more safe and secure. It will build a better future for our children and the generations to come.

Indefinite extension of the NPT has been a central priority of my Administration—the primary item on the most ambitious arms control agenda since the dawn of the nuclear age. For twenty-five years, the NPT has been the cornerstone of global efforts to reduce the danger of nuclear weapons. Today's overwhelming consensus in favor of making the treaty permanent testifies to a deep and abiding international commitment to confront the danger posed by nuclear weapons.

It is fitting that we should do this today. This week, all the world's peoples have joined together to commemorate the events of fifty years ago, when the allied forces defeated fascism but much of the world lay shattered by war and shrouded by the dawn of the atomic age. After five decades of Cold War competition and the specter of nuclear holocaust between East and West, the decision to make the Non-Proliferation Treaty permanent opens a new and more hopeful chapter in our history.

The nuclear danger has not ended. The capability to build nuclear weapons cannot be unlearned, nor will evil ambition disappear. But the overwhelming consensus in favor of the Treaty and its future attests to a deep and abiding international commitment to confront the nuclear danger by rejecting nuclear proliferation. This decision says to our children and all who follow: the community of nations will remain steadfast

in opposing the dangerous spread of nuclear weapons.

I am especially pleased to receive this news in Kiev, for Ukraine's adherence to the NPT as a non-nuclear weapons state and its action to bring START I into force were major contributions to the effort to achieve indefinite extension of the Treaty. I want once more to thank President Kuchma for these important and positive steps.

This moment also owes much to the progress made by the United States and Russia in reducing and dismantling strategic nuclear arsenals. As one of the three depositaries of the NPT, Russia has worked closely with us and others to bring about the Treaty's indefinite extension.

This event is a victory for all. I want to express my appreciation to all of the countries who worked hard to achieve a successful outcome to the NPT Extension Conference, and who have made a decision that strengthens the security of every nation and of all people.

### **Proclamation 6797—Mother's Day, 1995**

*May 11, 1995*

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### **A Proclamation**

Each year, Americans pause on the second Sunday of May to celebrate the gift of motherhood. Mother's Day reminds all of us to honor our mothers and to show them our love and appreciation—on this day and throughout the year. Whether we embrace our mothers in person or hold fast to a loving memory, the strength of their spirit and the blessing of their compassion stay with us for a lifetime.

Americans' vitality as a people flows from the health of our families. The heart and soul of our national life, mothers rise each day to take on myriad tasks, from driving a carpool to directing a city council. They are an anchor to generations past and a bridge to the world of the future. Meeting the challenge of motherhood is one of society's greatest responsibilities, and those who do this work every day do a service to all humanity.

Whether biological, foster, or adoptive, mothers have a unique ability to caution and care for their children and to instill in them the values of honesty, respect, and faith. As role models for their children, mothers show by example the infinite possibilities of life.

No matter our age, our mothers are ready to understand, to love, and to listen. We best observe this special day by living our lives to reflect the love they have given us and by teaching our children to hope for a brighter tomorrow.

To honor all mothers and their special place in our hearts, the Congress, by a joint resolution approved May 8, 1914 (38 Stat. 770), has designated the second Sunday in May each year as "Mother's Day" and requested the President to call for its appropriate observance.

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Sunday, May 14, 1995, as "Mother's Day." I urge all Americans to consider how much mothers have contributed to the well-being of our Nation. I call upon our citizens to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:13 p.m., May 11, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 15.

### **Proclamation 6798—National Safe Boating Week, 1995**

*May 11, 1995*

*By the President of the United States of America*

#### **A Proclamation**

Recreational boating has become one of this Nation's most popular leisure-time activities. It is estimated that in 1995, more

than 76 million Americans will enjoy our country's scenic waterways, engaging in pastimes from fishing and cruising to water-skiing, sailing, and sightseeing. Most Americans will act responsibly in these activities, ensuring the safety of their families and friends. Yet much work remains to be done if we are to make boating safe for all of us.

Studies indicate that in more than 85 percent of the fully documented recreational boating fatalities, the victim was not wearing any type of life jacket. This tragic statistic highlights a simple fact: personal flotation devices can help prevent more than 600 fatalities annually. I urge all Americans to wear them regularly when on our waterways.

The United States Coast Guard, the National Safe Boating Council, and the many State and local recreational boating organizations and governmental agencies are working with volunteer organizations across the country to educate the boating public about the importance of wearing life jackets. This advice applies not only to boat operators but also to passengers and all individuals participating in sporting activities on the waterways. Falling overboard and capsizing are the leading causes of boating fatalities, and more than half of all boating accidents are alcohol-related. But with responsible behavior and the proper precautions, families and friends can experience the joys of boating for years to come.

In recognition of the importance of safe boating practices, the Congress, by joint resolution approved June 4, 1958 [36 U.S.C. 161], as amended, has authorized and requested the President to proclaim annually the seven day period prior to the Memorial Day Weekend, as "National Safe Boating Week."

**Now, Therefore, I, William J. Clinton,** President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim May 20 through May 26, 1995, as National Safe Boating Week. I encourage the Governors of the 50 States and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and officials of other areas subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, to join in observing this week. I urge all Americans to practice safe recreational boating during these days and throughout the year.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of May, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and nineteenth.

**William J. Clinton**

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:14 p.m., May 11, 1995]

NOTE: This proclamation was published in the *Federal Register* on May 15.

### **Message to the Senate Transmitting the Convention on Nuclear Safety**

*May 11, 1995*

*To the Senate of the United States:*

I transmit herewith, for Senate advice and consent to ratification, the Convention on Nuclear Safety done at Vienna on September 20, 1994. This Convention was adopted by a Diplomatic Conference convened by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in June 1994 and was opened for signature in Vienna on September 20, 1994, during the IAEA General Conference. Secretary of Energy O'Leary signed the Convention for the United States on that date. Also transmitted for the information of the Senate is the report of the Department of State concerning the Convention.

At the September 1991 General Conference of the IAEA, a resolution was adopted, with U.S. support, calling for the IAEA secretariat to develop elements for a possible International Convention on Nuclear Safety. From 1992 to 1994, the IAEA convened seven expert working group meetings, in which the United States participated. The IAEA Board of Governors approved a draft text at its meeting in February 1994, after which the IAEA convened a Diplomatic Conference attended by representatives of more than 80 countries in June 1994. The final text of the Convention resulted from that Conference.

The Convention establishes a legal obligation on the part of Parties to apply certain general safety principles to the construction, operation, and regulation of land-based civilian nuclear power plants under their jurisdic-

tion. Parties to the Convention also agree to submit periodic reports on the steps they are taking to implement the obligations of the Convention. These reports will be reviewed and discussed at review meetings of the Parties, at which each Party will have an opportunity to discuss and seek clarification of reports submitted by other Parties.

The United States has initiated many steps to deal with nuclear safety, and has supported the effort to develop this Convention. With its obligatory reporting and review procedures, requiring Parties to demonstrate in international meetings how they are complying with safety principles, the Convention should encourage countries to improve nuclear safety domestically and thus result in an increase in nuclear safety worldwide. I urge the Senate to act expeditiously in giving its advice and consent to ratification.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
May 11, 1995.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Transmitting a Report on  
Democracy Promotion Programs**

*May 11, 1995*

*Dear Mr. Chairman:*

I am pleased to transmit herewith a report on the democracy promotion programs funded by the United States Government. The report is required by section 534 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103-236).

The report reviews the current status of U.S.-sponsored programs to promote democracy. As part of the Vice President's National Performance Review, agencies will be seeking ways to further streamline these programs in the coming months.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to Jesse Helms, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and Benjamin A. Gilman, chairman, House Committee on International Relations.

**Remarks at the Menorah Memorial  
at Babi Yar in Kiev**

*May 12, 1995*

Thank you, Rabbi, to the people of Ukraine, and especially to the veterans of World War II and the children who are here. Here on the edge of this wooded ravine, we bear witness eternally to the consequences of evil. Here at Babi Yar, almost 54 years ago, more than 30,000 men, women, and children were slaughtered in the first 3 days alone. They died for no other reason than the blood that ran through their veins. We remember their sacrifice, and we vow never to forget.

In late September 1941, the Nazi occupying army ordered the Jewish population of Kiev together, with their valuables and belongings. "We thought we were being sent on a journey," one survivor recalled. But instead they were being herded to the ravine, stripped, and shot down. By year's end, more than 100,000 Jews, 10,000 Ukrainian nationalists, Soviet prisoners of war, and gypsies had been exterminated here.

The writer, Anatoly Kuznietzov, was a child in Kiev during the war. He remembers the day the deportations began. "My grandfather stood in the middle of the courtyard straining to hear something. He raised his finger. 'Do you know what?' he said with horror in his voice. 'They're not deporting them. They're shooting them.'"

Years later, Kuznietzov brought the poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko to Babi Yar. And that night, Yevtushenko wrote one of his most celebrated poems:

Over Babi Yar there are no memorials.  
The steep hillside, like a rough inscription.  
I am frightened. Today I am as old  
as the Jewish race. I seem to myself a  
Jew at this moment.

These words speak to us across the generations, a reminder of the past, a warning for the future.

In the quiet of this place, the victims of Babi Yar cry out to us still. Never forget, they tell us, that humanity is capable of the worst, just as it is capable of the best.

Never forget that the forces of darkness cannot be defeated with silence or indiffer-



ence. Never forget that we are all Jews and gypsies and Slavs. Never forget.

May God bless this holy place.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:12 p.m.

### **Remarks at Schevchenko University in Kiev**

*May 12, 1995*

Thank you very much.

I first would thank Olexiy Meleshchuk for that fine introduction. I thank Olena Sheveliova for her fine remarks and for representing the university students here. I thank the rector, Viktor Skopenko, for his remarks and for the honorary degree, which I will treasure and display in the White House.

I am delighted to be joined here by my wife and by ministers and other important members of our administration, by the Mayor of Kiev, and members of your national government, and by former President Kravchuk. I am glad to see them all here, and I thank them for being here with me today. I am deeply honored to be the first American President to appear before the people of a free and independent Ukraine.

Today we celebrate the alliance of our peoples, who defeated fascism 50 years ago. We shared victory then, but the cost to your people of that victory was almost unimaginable. More than 5 million Ukrainians died in the conflict. I am pleased that now after all these years we can pay tribute to the extraordinary sacrifice here in the Ukrainian homeland.

It is fitting that we are meeting at this institution, named for Taras Schevchenko. More than 30 years ago, America recognized his passion for freedom by erecting a statue of Schevchenko in the heart of our Nation's Capital. Now, at last, America also honors this great champion of liberty in the heart of Ukraine's capital.

I am also glad that we are meeting here at this university because so much of your nation's future depends upon this place of learning and others like it throughout your land. Here, the knowledge that Ukraine needs to build itself will be found. Here, the dreams of a new Ukraine will be dreamed.

I would like to say a special word to the students and scholars here. I know the times are difficult now, and I commend you for taking the hard road, for putting the needs of your future and your nation above immediate personal concerns. Your efforts will be repaid, for your independent country has a better chance to create freedom and prosperity than it has had in centuries, and to do it in a way that is uniquely your own as one of Europe's oldest peoples forging one of its newest democracies.

Ukraine is rising to the historic challenge of its reemergence as a nation on the world's stage. Already your nation can claim responsibility for a major contribution to global peace. Your wise decision to eliminate nuclear weapons on your territory has earned your nation respect and gratitude everywhere in the world.

Your accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty has sent an unmistakable message for peace and against weapons of mass destruction. Without those farsighted acts, the historic vote yesterday by the world's nations, to extend the nonproliferation treaty indefinitely and unconditionally, would not have been possible. This will make the people of the world for generations to come safer and more secure.

For 25 years this treaty has been the cornerstone of the world's efforts to reduce the dangers of nuclear weapons. I am proud of the leadership of the United States in securing the extension of the treaty. But I am also proud of the role that Ukraine played, and you should be proud as well. In the short period of your independence, you have helped make the world a safer, more hopeful place, and I thank you for that. [Applause] Thank you.

A few moments ago Rector Skopenko quoted Taras Schevchenko's question, "When will we receive our Washington with a new and righteous law?" The answer is now, because so many Ukrainians are striving to build a nation ruled by law and governed by the will of the people. Holding free, fair, and frequent elections, protecting the rights of minorities, building bridges to other democracies, these mark the way to a "new birth of freedom," in the phrase of our great President Abraham Lincoln.

Already you have held a landmark election that produced the first transfer of power from one democratic government to another in any of the nations that emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union. You have put tolerance at the heart of your law and law at the heart of your state. You have claimed your place in the ranks of the world's great democracies as demonstrated by the sight of your flag flying next to the American flag at the White House during President Kuchma's historic visit last November.

You have earned the admiration of the free world by setting on a course of economic reform and staying on that course despite the pain of adjustment. President Kuchma's decision to launch ambitious economic reforms and to press ahead with them was truly bold. We know that after so many decades of a command-and-control economy, reform carries real human cost in the short term in lost jobs, lower wages, lost personal security.

But your efforts will not be in vain, because the course is right, even if the path is difficult. The toil is bitter, but the harvest is sweet, as the old proverb says. In time, your transformation will deliver better, more prosperous lives and the chance for you and your children to realize your God-given potential. You and your children will reap the harvest of today's sacrifices.

In the pursuit of peace and prosperity, you have been well served by President Kuchma and his government's bold and farsighted leadership. You should know this: As you build your future, the United States will stand with you.

For America, support for an independent Ukraine secure in its recognized borders is not only a matter of sympathy, it is a matter of our national interest as well. We look to the day when a democratic and prosperous Ukraine is America's full political and economic partner in a bulwark of stability in Europe.

Fifty years ago, Americans and Ukrainians engaged in a common struggle against fascism, and together we won. When U.S. troops met a Soviet force at the Elbe for the first time and made that legendary handshake across a liberated Europe, the unit they met was the First Ukrainian Army.

Cruel events made that embrace brief. During the decades of East-West separation, it was left to a million Ukrainian-Americans to keep alive the ties between our people. They fought hard to ensure that the hope for freedom for you never died out. Today, their dreams are being fulfilled by you. And on behalf of all Ukrainian-Americans, I rejoice in standing here with you.

In the months and years ahead, our partnership will grow stronger. Together we will help design the architecture of security in an undivided Europe so that Ukraine's security is strengthened. We will increase defense contacts between our nations, consult with one another as NATO prepares to expand, and foster ties between Ukraine and the West. Ukraine has already taken a strong leadership role in forming the Partnership For Peace, which is uniting Europe's democracies in military cooperation and creating a more secure future.

We will work with one another as Ukraine becomes a full partner in the new Europe, and we will deepen the friendship between our peoples in concrete economic ways.

The United States has shown its support for Ukraine in deeds, not just words, in the commitment of more than a billion dollars in assistance over 3½ years for political and economic reform, another \$350 million to help eliminate nuclear weapons, in leading the world's financial institutions to commit \$2.7 billion for Ukraine's future, and urging our partners in the G-7 to do even more. We will continue to work to assist you to build a brighter future.

Our nations have established vigorous trade and investment ties, and a group of American and Ukrainian businesspeople are promoting these ties here in Ukraine this year and next year in their meeting in the United States. Together we will enter into exciting new ventures, such as commercial space launch cooperation.

All these efforts will help to build a Ukraine that is sovereign and democratic, confident and successful, a Ukraine that will fulfill the hopes of your 52 million citizens and provide an essential anchor of stability and freedom in a part of the world still reeling from rapid change, still finding its way toward the 21st century.

Of course, in the end it is you who will make your own future. The people of Ukraine have it in their power to fulfill their oldest wishes and shape a very new destiny. To live up to that promise, to make the most of your role in this global economy in the information age, your ability to learn and learn and learn will be essential. And so I urge you to take to heart the words of Schevchenko, "Study my brothers, study and read, learn of foreign things, but don't forget that which is yours."

Our two nations are bound together by a common vision of freedom and prosperity. Together we shall make that vision real.

As the great poet of our democracy, Walt Whitman, wrote a century ago, "The strongest and sweetest songs yet remain to be sung." Those strong, sweet songs are of free people fulfilling their hopes and dreams; they are the songs of Ukraine's tomorrow.

God bless America. *Slava Ukraini.*

NOTE: The President spoke at 11 a.m. at the Volodymyrs'ka Street Plaza. In his remarks, he referred to student speakers Olexiy Meleshchuk, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy University, and Olena Sheveliova, Schevchenko University; Viktor Skopenko, rector, Schevchenko University; and Mayor Leonid Kosakivsky of Kiev. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

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### **Digest of Other White House Announcements**

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The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

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#### **May 8**

In the morning, the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at Arlington Cemetery in Arlington, VA, commemorating the 50th anniversary of V-E Day.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Moscow, Russia. While en route to Moscow, the President had a telephone conversation with President-elect Jacques Chirac of France.

The President announced his intention to nominate Leo K. Goto to be a member of the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund Board of Directors.

The President announced his intention to nominate Marc B. Nathanson as a member of the Broadcasting Board of Governors for the International Bureau of Broadcasting.

#### **May 9**

Following their arrival in Moscow in the early morning, the President and Hillary Clinton went to the Kremlin where they participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknowns. They then viewed the veterans parade at Red Square.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton toured the Central Museum of the Great Patriotic War at Poklonnaya Gora. Later in the afternoon, they attended a reception for U.S. veterans of World War II at the Radisson Slavjanskaya Hotel.

In the early evening, the President and Hillary Clinton toured the Novodevichy Convent. Following a reception for heads of state at St. George's Hall, they attended a state dinner hosted by President Boris Yeltsin of Russia at the Palace of Congresses in the Kremlin.

The President announced his intention to nominate John White to be Deputy Secretary of Defense.

#### **May 10**

In the morning, the President met with President Yeltsin in St. Catherine's Room at the Kremlin.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a dinner in the Hall of Facets at the Kremlin.

The President declared a major disaster in the State of Louisiana and ordered Federal aid to supplement State and local recovery efforts in the area struck by severe storms, tornadoes, and flooding on May 8-9.

The White House announced that the President has invited President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe to the White House for an official working visit on May 18.

#### **May 11**

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton met with staff at the U.S. Embassy compound.

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton toured a Coca-Cola plant. Following the tour, they traveled to Kiev, Ukraine, where the President met with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine at Mariinsky Palace.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton attended a state dinner hosted by President Kuchma at Mariinsky Palace.

The President announced his intention to appoint Michael L. Beatty to be the U.S. Representative to the Western Interstate Nuclear Board.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to the Advisory Committee on the Arts of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts:

- Don Anselmi;
- Gregory Carr;
- David Cofrin;
- Susan Gelman;
- Mary C. Hansen;
- Gary Hindes;
- Sherry K. Jelsma;
- Michael Pannos; and
- Gail Rosene Smith.

The White House announced that the President has asked a delegation led by Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs Hershel Gober, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for POW/MIA Affairs James Wold to travel to Vietnam, May 13–16, and Laos, May 17–18, to facilitate the fullest possible accounting of American POW/MIA's.

### ***May 12***

In the morning, the President and Hillary Clinton participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the World War II Memorial.

In the afternoon, following a departure ceremony at Mariinsky Palace and tours of St. Andrew's Church and Kyievo-Pecherska Lavra monastery, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton traveled to Camp David, MD, for the weekend.

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## **Nominations Submitted to the Senate**

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The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

### ***Submitted May 8***

Leo K. Goto, of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund for a term of 2 years (new position).

Patrick M. Ryan, of Oklahoma, to be U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma, vice Vicki Miles-LaGrange, resigned.

### ***Submitted May 9***

John P. White, of Massachusetts, to be Deputy Secretary of Defense, vice John M. Deutch.

### ***Submitted May 11***

Karl N. Stauber, of Minnesota, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Commodity Credit Corporation, vice Daniel A. Sumner, resigned.

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## **Checklist of White House Press Releases**

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The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

### ***Released May 6***

Transcript of remarks by Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to the Annual Interaction Forum on May 2

Transcript of remarks by Anthony Lake, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, to the American Center for International Leadership on May 3

**Released May 7**

Advance text of the President's speech to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee Policy Conference

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the election of Jacques Chirac as President of France

**Released May 8**

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the May 6 meeting between President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola and UNITA president Jonas Savimbi in Lusaka, Zambia

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing that the President has signed an Executive order imposing new economic sanctions on Iran

Announcement of nomination for U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma

**Released May 9**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry and State Department Spokesman Nick Burns

**Released May 10**

Transcript of a press briefing by U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, Council of Economic Advisers Chair Laura D'Andrea Tyson, and Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown on trade with Japan

Transcript of a press briefing by Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, Director of the Office of Management and Budget Alice Rivlin, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, and Council of Economic Advisers Chair Laura D'Andrea Tyson on Republican budget proposals

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the visit of President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe on May 18

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry on the Senate version of product liability legislation

Fact sheet on the proposed "Gun-Free School Zones Amendments Act of 1995"

Fact sheet on U.S. bilateral assistance to Russia

Fact sheet on the establishment of a civilian research and development foundation

Fact sheet on U.S.-Russian trade and investment

**Released May 11**

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake on the President's meeting with President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine

Transcript of a press briefing by Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, Director of the Office of Management and Budget Alice Rivlin, Labor Secretary Robert Reich, and Education Secretary Richard Riley on the impact of Republican budget proposals on education

Fact sheet on U.S.-Ukraine cooperation on dismantlement and nonproliferation assistance

Statement by Press Secretary Mike McCurry announcing the delegation to Vietnam and Laos, May 13-18

**Released May 12**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Mike McCurry

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**Acts Approved  
by the President**

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NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.